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MANKIND

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Elkin.

A Darwin Centenary and Highlights of Field-Work in Australia. By Emeritus Professor A. P. Elkin,¹ University of Sydney.

PART I. CENTENARY OF THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

What made you, or why did you, take up Anthropology? That question has been put to me dozens of times, occasionally in the form of "What made you interested in the Aborigines?" The question is significant here only because I find, at least, a predisposing cause in the year 1909. For just as this year, 1959, marks the centenary of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, so 1909 was the fiftieth year of its publication. And fifty years in the history of thought is not long. Darwin had shown in this book that the concept of the relationship of all forms of life, from the earliest to the latest, from the simplest to the most complex, was a feasible one. This relationship is a continuing process. Its phenomena are the biological facts of geometrical increase, variation in offspring, and inheritance of variations, but the process itself is mediated through the sieves of environmental conditions, of natural selection, and in many classes of life, of sexual selection also. In this way, varieties arise, and in time new species, genera, families and orders, all of which are classified on the principle of descent.

Of course, such a process must have taken much time. But only slowly had scientists, let alone theologians, admitted that there had been time, that is, sufficient time, in Darwin's words, for "the great Tree of Life," to fill "with its dead and broken branches the crust of the earth, and to cover the surface with its ever branching and beautiful ramifications."²

Only grudgingly too, was the scientific doctrine of cataclysms and fresh creations of new species completely discarded. In Darwin's opinion, "the ordinary succession by generation," that is by descent, had never once been broken, and no cataclysm had "desolated the whole world." But "the whole history of the world, as at present known, although of a length quite incomprehensible by us, will hereafter be recognized as a mere fragment of time, compared with the ages which have elapsed since the first creature, the progenitor of innumerable extinct and living descendants, was created." So wrote Darwin.³

¹ Presidential Address to the Anthropological Society of New South Wales, April 7, 1959.

² *On the Origin of Species*, Hutchinson and Co., 1906, p. 121.

³ *Idem*, pp. 448-9.

These views of the inter-relationship of all forms of life in a process through an immense period of time, were disturbing to generations brought up on the doctrine and theory of special creations. Even more disturbing to feelings of human dignity and to the prevailing doctrines of the soul, was one short sentence in almost the last page of *The Origin*: "Light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history." Darwin anticipated the reaction. When he sought to reveal this light by patient research, embodied in his *Descent of Man*, 1871, he stated: "The main conclusion . . . that man is descended from some lowly organized form will, I regret to think, be highly distasteful to many," and "will be denounced by some as highly irreligious."⁴

And so it came to pass. Scientific, theological, philosophical and plain-man-in-the-street storms raged. Scientist thundered at scientist; scientist at theologian; theologian at scientist and theologian; and "John White" at "John Black". Articles, books and public debates were the order of the day for some decades, almost up to the outbreak of World War I. The Rationalist Press Association published sixpenny paper-covered editions of works by Darwin, Huxley, Haeckel, Ray Lankester, Comte, Spencer and Mill, and by popularizers of scientific thought. On the other hand, similar sixpenny series, written by theologians, not necessarily anti-evolutionist, were issued by such firms as MacMillan and Allenson. "John White" and "John Black" could gather for a few shillings quite a good library on the scientific, philosophic and theological issues of the preceding half-century. And we young "Whites" and "Blacks" did so in the first decade of this century. From the paper-backs we graduated to the more durable Everyman Series which began to appear half way through that same decade, to be followed by The Home University Series, both obtainable for 1/-, and indeed for ten pence in one Sydney store. The Everyman Series, like the best paper-backs, were reprints, but unlike the latter, covered a wider range of science and scholarship, as did also The Home University Series of specially written books.

In that fifth decade since the publication of *The Origin*, we, of my generation, were aware that while most, but not all, biologists seemed to agree about the theory of descent in general, they differed a good deal on the "how". We read and talked about Haeckel, Weismann, Virchow, De Vries and Driesch. Perhaps the most useful book available at the time to give a summary of the arguments and the philosophical issues involved, was *Naturalism and Religion*, by a very acute thinker of Gottingen, Dr. Rudolf Otto. Translated from the German by J. A. Thomson, Professor of Natural History in Aberdeen, and Margaret Thomson, it was published in 1907. Otto concluded that the assumption could be made with a high degree of certainty "that the general evolutionist point of view and the great arguments for descent in some form or other will ultimately be victorious if they are not so already, and that, sooner or later, we shall take the Theory of Descent in its most general form as a matter of course, just as we now do the Kant-Laplace theory."⁵

But, in and around the year 1909 some of the atmosphere of the arguments and battles of the preceding fifty years still hovered around. Men of seventy then were twenty when the *Origin of Species* appeared, and thirty two when the *Descent of Man* was published.

⁴ *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. Second Edition; reprinted 1922. Pp. 946, 937.

⁵ Rudolf Otto, *Naturalism and Religion*, especially Chapter IV. P. 127 for this quotation.

They had witnessed, felt, taken part in, or had been vaguely affected by the movement and storms of thought. In other words, it was all still quite recent. And we their grandchildren were soon aware of, or immersed in, or captivated, or upset by, the "new" world, life and time views, which were being debated.

In 1909, as a young bank clerk in a New South Wales country town, I was a member of a Church Society in which these scientific, philosophical and theological issues were discussed. Indeed, a short paper I wrote on the implications of Evolution was printed: my first publication. But more to the point: I still possess and read a shilling edition in Hutchinson's Popular Classics of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, which I bought in that same year, 1909, along with a few other scientific books, popularly written, also in a cheap series. There was the seed of my anthropology. It was sown in ground of physical geography, geology and palaeontology, tilled at secondary school and soon to be fertilized at the University.⁶

To use modern popular phraseology, I might seem to be a Darwin "fan". Indeed, I think that every seeker after knowledge will be, who reads Darwin's fascinating and self-revealing *Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries visited during the Voyage of H.M.S. "Beagle" round the World, 1831-1836* (first edition 1839, second, 1845); *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, (1859); *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*, (1871); *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, edited by his son, Francis Darwin (second edition, 1887), and *More Letters of Charles Darwin*, edited by Francis Darwin and A. C. Steward (1903). And whether or not the reader goes on to Darwin's other major works, he will appreciate not only the genius of the man, but also his indefatigable application to research; his patience in observing and accumulating sufficient data; his imaginative experiments; his sense of the importance of the apparently insignificant; his honest and clear marshalling of material; and the full and logical presentation of his arguments and hypotheses. *The Origin of Species* is a most valuable adjunct to a course in Scientific Method.

In addition to all this, we must note Darwin's humility; his aversion to publicity of any sort; his endurance in illness; his natural disinclination to wound the sensibilities of others through the publication of his findings and opinions, and yet, in spite of that, his courage to put forward his conclusions, with the evidence for them, even though he felt that they would be distasteful to many, or condemned by some; and finally we note his attitude of reverence in contemplation of the grand spectacle of the interlocking process of life through time. Incidentally, this reverence was not dependent on his philosophical or theological interpretation, which changed from an accepted Theism to a diffident Agnosticism.

⁶ The ten years or so before World War I were specially marked by the issue of cheap series of scientific and scholarly books. The interest in science and learning was widespread, particularly among the lower-middle and the working classes in England. And we in Australia benefitted. One series not mentioned in the text was issued by the Cambridge University Press. It included A. C. Haddon's remarkable synopsis, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, 1911, and *The Individual in the Animal Kingdom*, 1912, by Julian S. Huxley, B.A., then Research Associate of the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas; now of course, Sir Julian Huxley, author of, amongst other works, *Evolution, the Modern Synthesis*, and also of an essay in a philosophical strain, *Religion without Revelation*, 1940, (Thinker's Library). The latter reflected the scientific-theological issues of his youthful days, and carried on the Huxley tradition established by his redoubtable ancestor, T. H. Huxley. Like the latter, too, he revels in public debate on these issues. Julian Huxley also edited *What Darwin Really Said*, a selection with notes from *The Origin*. This was in Routledge Sixpenny Series, 1929.

Darwin and Anthropology

I have made this brief reference to Darwin because it seems meet and right so to do in a Presidential Address to an Anthropological Society in this Centenary Year of the *Origin*. For Darwin by the afore-mentioned, significant hint in that book, developed twelve years later in *The Descent of Man*, became a pivotal figure in the history of Anthropology. As Mr. Penniman says in his *A Hundred Years of Anthropology* (1935, p. 93): "With the publication of the *Origin of Species* in 1859, the Constructive Period of Anthropology as a single, though many-sided science, begins."

Darwin was not the founder of modern Anthropology. Its leading pioneers included Blumenbach, Lawrence and Prichard before his period on the side of Natural History, and Boucher de Perthes and Lartet in Pre-History; while during his period there were Broca and Topinard in Physical Anthropology, and Bastian, Waitz, Morgan and Tylor in the field of Cultural and Social Anthropology. But at a time when the principal question in debate in this discipline was whether the human races belonged to one or more species, meaning separate creations,—a problem heatedly linked with the question of inferior and superior races and with the enslavement of the former by the latter,—at that time, Darwin's hypothesis of the relationship of all life and of the derivation of species from varieties, relegated the human species argument to insignificance. The relationship of man himself to other and presumably lower forms of life, became more important scientifically. Comparative anatomy, embryology and palaeontology, and prehistory concentrated much of their energies on the evolution of man. At the same time, the concept of evolution, now shown with a high degree of probability to be a sound interpretation, or at least, description, on the physical and biological plane, was applied with some enthusiasm to the study and interpretation of man's cultural and social adaptation to his geographical and human environment. Fortunately too, the concept was subject to almost continuous philosophical analysis—a necessary, restraining influence.

We in Anthropology, in spite of L. A. White, may feel to-day that we have outgrown such a concept, and indeed, we have already passed through several other phases in quick succession, e.g. psychic unity, elementary ideas, diffusion, function and even now, structure, with statistical salvation just around our corner. But in the second half of the 19th Century, the concept of evolution with its "battery" of adaptation, selection, phases or even stages, survivals and change (change which was often confused with progress), and with its comparative method, was dynamic. By it men thought they would be able to see human life in all its aspects and varieties as a continuous process through time. They believed too, that as a result they would be able to understand the present and predict the future development of human institutions. Such was the almost compulsive influence of Darwinism.

PART 2. SIDELIGHTS AND HIGHLIGHTS OF FIELD-WORK IN AUSTRALIA BEFORE 1926.

(i) *Darwin in Australia*. The preceding reference to Darwin is not altogether irrelevant to an address dealing with field-work. He was a field-worker: he not only did experimental work in his laboratory; he also made his observations in his garden and in the country-side; but above all, his five years' journey round the world carrying out field observations in geology and natural history qualifies him for this category. In Australia he saw Aborigines on three occasions. In the vicinity of the Blue Mountains he met a group of twenty with their spears

and other weapons. They "were good-humoured and pleasant, and appeared far from being such utterly degraded beings as they have usually been represented." He noted, however, that they would "not cultivate the ground, or build houses and remain stationary, or even take the trouble of tending a flock of sheep when given to them." Still they appeared to him to stand some few degrees higher in the scale of civilization than the Fuegians. This comparison, especially concerning the Aborigines' good humour was based, at least, partly on a corroboree Darwin saw at King George's Sound, Western Australia; he was impressed by "the hideous harmony" and the "perfect display of a festival amongst the lowest barbarians." He had seen in Tierra del Fuego many curious scenes in savage life, but never, he thought, "one where the natives were in such high spirits, and so perfectly at their ease."

Darwin was struck by the incongruous sight of a set of harmless savages wandering about in the midst of a civilized people, without knowing, and he could have added, caring, where they would sleep at night, and gaining their livelihood by hunting in the woods. From this he went on to reflect on the rapid decrease of the Aborigines, for in his ride from Sydney to Bathurst and back he only saw two groups. After enumerating various causes for the decrease, such as alcohol and introduced diseases, he wrote that there appeared "to be some more mysterious agency generally at work. Wherever the European has trod, death seems to pursue the aboriginal." 'The same result is seen in the Americas, South Africa, Polynesia and Australia.' All such observations were stored up in readiness for use in preparing the section "On the Extinction of the Races of Man" in the *Descent of Man* thirty five years later, where the subject was viewed in the light of his general theory of balances, the struggle for existence and natural selection. He urges us to remember that "the increase of each species and each race is constantly checked in various ways; so that if any new check, even a slight one, be superadded, the race will surely decrease in number; and decreasing numbers will sooner or later lead to extinction; the end, in most cases, being promptly determined by the inroads of conquering tribes." A hundred years had to pass before, by marked changes in policy and administrative methods, we began to deal effectively with that superadded new check, stemming from ourselves, and so stop the decline.⁷

(ii) *Baldwin Spencer*. The first real highlight in field-work amongst the Aborigines, that is, field-work done by a trained scientist, the impact of which was significant, was the publication of *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* in 1899. This was the result of the co-operation of two men: the first, F. J. Gillen, had twenty years' experience with the Central Australian Aborigines as postmaster and sub-protector at Alice Springs. The other, Baldwin Spencer, was a trained scientist, being Professor of Zoology at Melbourne; he was expert in observing, classifying and generalizing, and in keeping his work in theoretical perspective. When concentrating on anthropological research, he kept himself aware of theoretical problems and theories mainly by his correspondence, and occasional personal contact, with Tylor, who had earlier interested him in anthropology, and with James Frazer. It was his third visit to the Centre, that he devoted wholly to field-work with Gillen amongst the Arunta, after which he wrote in both their names, the book on *The Native Tribes*, which startled the anthropological and even the classical world. To the thought of the period, it afforded new insights into early, as well as primitive, man; not only did armchair anthropologists draw

⁷ Darwin, *Journal of Researches*, Reprint of the 1845 edition; Ward Lock & Co.; pp. 410-12, 425-26. *The Descent of Man*, Reprint, 1922, John Murray; pp. 281-297.

heavily on it, but classical scholars like Gilbert Murray and Jane Harrison found in its descriptions and interpretations of rituals, new light for the interpretation of obscurities in the texts and authors with which they were wrestling.⁸ Students of Comparative Religion and of the Evolution of Religion also drew heavily on it. The great attraction of the book arose not only from its detailed and all-round presentation of a primitive people, low down on the evolutionary scale as then envisaged, but also because that presentation seemed to be cinematographic, revealing the Arunta as living, pulsating personalities within a social system, and carried along by a mythology and a zestful ritual which gave meaning and dignity to life.

The Native Tribes was a highlight in another way. It threw, as it were, reflected light on other works and authors. Indeed, their own later book, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904, based on a year's anthropological field-survey from the Centre to the Gulf of Carpentaria, could not, and did not, give a similar intense picture of tribal life; but it was welcomed and received as authoritative because it was by Spencer and Gillen and was based on original work amongst tribes, most of whom were still living to a great extent in their old-time way. But further, the writings of A. W. Howitt, who had already won anthropological fame in his own right by his contributions, inspired by L. H. Morgan and L. Fison; and the reports of W. E. Roth in Queensland, and of earlier and also contemporary observers, missionaries and officials, became enhanced in value, for it was now realized that in all cases, behind their formal, or brief, or sketchy records, was or had been a full tribal life of the richness suggested by *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*.

This is seen in such a work as Durkheim's classic, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, (1912; English translation, 1915). In his presentation and interpretation of totemism as an elementary form of religion, he uses probably every relevant contribution in the Aboriginal field, but none influenced him as much as Spencer and Gillen's vivid descriptions of rituals. These would seem to have been a principal source of Durkheim's central idea of the birth of the religious idea from "effervescent social environments." Quite early in his book, he states that until Spencer and Gillen's work had appeared, "a totemic religion in complete action had not yet been observed." We note the words "in complete action." Moreover, their books showed that the basis and unity of the Central and North-Central tribes which they studied, were "founded in totemic beliefs." In addition, they gave rise to an abundant literature, and stimulated both research and speculation.⁹

If we survey the literature on the Aborigines up to say, 1926, we realize that in spite of its quantity it is very thin. Some observers, such as George Grey and Knut Dahl give lively descriptions of a death scene or a corroboree, or a fight, and some give sketchy accounts of aspects of social organization or totemism. Even George Taplin and William Ridley, acclaimed though they were for their knowledge of the Aborigines, did no more than this. Howitt in the 1880's witnessed and described initiation ceremonies on the far south coast of New South Wales and in the neighbouring part of Victoria, ceremonies which he himself was instrumental in reviving, at least for that one occasion in each case, amongst the civilized and sadly depleted tribes of the region. This was a very valuable contribution. But for

⁸ J. E. Harrison, *Themis, A Study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, written 1911, published 1912, is an example.

⁹ E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, pp. 90-92, 214-219.

the rest, even amongst the Kurnai, whose surviving members he knew well, the best he could do was from time to time to collect numerous fragments, and then piece them together in such order as he could achieve in the hope that it would show dimly what was "the domestic and social life of a savage tribe."¹⁰ R. H. Mathews devoted his spare time for forty years to just this type of work, bringing to it acute powers of analysis and generalization. Radcliffe-Brown could do no more amongst the tribal remnants on sheep stations along the central coast of Western Australia, and the even fewer survivors along the Murray and Darling Rivers. Mrs. Parker's account was derived from her pleasant kitchen servants, and so the record runs. Roth had better opportunities in a few places in North Queensland, and at least John Mathew tried to recover a rounded account of the Kabi and Wakka of south-east Queensland.

Of course, by comparing and piecing together all the available material from 1788 to 1926, we get a very useful and interesting picture of Aboriginal tribal life and ritual and belief. I did just this in 1925-27. But without the two books by Spencer and Gillen, and Spencer's own *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory* (1914), the picture would have been but a jig-saw puzzle, or not much better. Spencer's work provided, as it were, the holistic key. He showed the tribal organization and ritual "in complete action," as Durkheim would say, in functional activity as Malinowski might say. Hence, the importance of Spencer and Gillen,—a highlight in Australian Aboriginal field-work.¹¹

(iii) *The "Green" Light of 1926.*

A bright light, however, was about to be kindled. Both the British Association Meeting in Australia in 1914 and the Pan-Pacific Science Congress in Australia in 1923 urged on Governments and Scientific Institutions the necessity of field-work amongst the Aborigines *before it was too late*. Their culture was changing and they themselves were passing. The duty to carry out anthropological research in New Guinea and Melanesia was also strongly recommended, but mostly for the advantages which would accrue to administration. The Australian National Research Council was asked to take up the twofold task of getting a Department of Anthropology established in Australia and of obtaining funds for research. The Council was successful in both tasks. The Rockefeller Foundation made the Council a grant of £30,000 Australian, spread over five years, 1926-31. This was followed by a similar amount to cover the next four years, and this again by £15,000 for 1936-38. And

¹⁰ L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 1880, p. 187. For the initiation ceremonies: A. W. Howitt, "Some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation", *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XIII, 1884. The same two ceremonies are described again in Howitt's *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904, pp. 513-62; 616-37.

¹¹ I am not forgetting Pastor Carl Strehlow's series of articles, "Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral Australien", which were edited by M. F. von Leonhardi, who also advised Strehlow during his collection of the material from the natives on his Mission. Strehlow's material was gathered (*gesammelt*) from informants, and not recorded from personal observation and analysis. For this reason and because of Professor Spencer's opinion that the Mission natives would not feel free to speak truthfully about their own beliefs and ritual to the head of a Mission which adopted a stern repressive attitude to Aboriginal custom and belief, James Frazer abstained from using Strehlow's material in his *Totemism and Exogamy* (Vol. 1, p. 186-7, foot-note). I am glad to say that Durkheim did not adopt this attitude. He considered that the differences between the accounts of the Arunta (Aranda) by Spencer and Gillen and by Strehlow, were in detail, and could be explained easily. Indeed, they had been grossly exaggerated (*The Elementary Forms*, p. 92).

although these grants were for research in New Guinea-Melanesia as well as Australia, they were ample for both.¹²

As the Department of Anthropology in the University of Sydney, founded in 1925, began to function in 1926, and as the Research Council had set up a special research committee with the newly appointed Professor as Chairman, to advise it on the expenditure of the Rockefeller grant, we can say in modern road and rail terms, the "green light" was shown to anthropological field work in 1926. It just remained to plan the roads to be taken and to find and equip the workers. The hardest part was, as often happens in the social sciences, and indeed these days also in the biological and physical sciences, to find sufficient, trained workers to carry out the projects for which money was available. Consequently, hands have sometimes been laid somewhat suddenly on persons to undertake research. At any rate, 1926 was a highlight in potential for field-work amongst the Aborigines.

The plan of research—and I am thinking here almost solely of social anthropology, as it developed, is of interest. We can speak of four phases.

(1) 1926-31. The emphasis in the application for the grant for research in the Aboriginal field was on gathering information "before it was too late." Obviously, therefore, initial efforts should be made in regions where Aboriginal culture was still functioning as far as possible in its native conditions. This was particularly desirable in view of the paucity of material, apart from Spencer and Gillen's works, which showed Aboriginal society and ritual in "complete action." Moreover, as we did have valuable information about the Centre and North-Centre, and thanks to Roth, about parts of Queensland, it was clear that the first line of research attack should be on the northern periphery, where was the best hope of finding relatively untouched tribes and cultures.

The qualification "relatively untouched" is used advisedly. A field-worker could not, and cannot, be loaded up with equipment and food and sent off to set up a camp in central Arnhem Land, the Northern Kimberley or the Western Desert, and get on with his anthropology. Even if he had ever-replenished supplies of food and gifts with which to entice and maintain a tribe around him, he might well find himself frequently without any people to study. For the Aborigines are nomadic with regard to the food quest, social life and ritual duty. Of course, he might be able to move round with them, if he could arrange for the transport of his gear and supplies, but in some regions and under some conditions this might not be feasible. However, except for "sorties" from a base camp, for special purposes, continuous field-work nomadism is unnecessary as well as difficult. In any case, since 1926 Missions, Government Posts or pastoral stations would have offered greater attraction than an anthropologist's camp. So it was, and has been, almost always the policy to arrange for field workers to establish themselves at or near, one of these centres, in spite of the initial disadvantage of seeming to be under the auspices of, if not part of, such Mission, Government Post or pastoral station.

In this first phase Missions on the eastern and western sides of Cape York Peninsula, in North-East Arnhem Land and on Bathurst Island, provided by arrangement, facilities and centres for D. Thomson, Ursula McConnel, W. L. Warner and C. W. Hart respectively, who

¹² For an account of the grants and work done, see A. P. Elkin "Anthropological Research in Australia and the Western Pacific, 1927-1937". *Oceania*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 306-27. *Idem*, "Anthropology in Australia, 1939". *Oceania*, Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 1-29.

went into the field in 1927-28 and spent two periods in their particular areas. As part of the same plan, I carried out a twelve months' anthropological survey in the Kimberlies, 1927-28, mainly around the coastal perimeter, improvising my programme of travel and of places for research according to circumstances, but being much helped at Government Posts and Missions.

Thus, the far northern line was, as it were, anthropologically occupied. But the region immediately south of what we might call Spencer and Gillen's and Strehlow's central area of past operations, was not forgotten. For although there had been long contact on pastoral stations from the Oodnadatta-Port Augusta north-south line eastwards to the Queensland and New South Wales borders, and although some anthropological data had been obtained from this part by Spencer and Gillen, and by Howitt, Siebert and more recently by Aiston, there had been much less contact in the western half of the State and almost nothing was known about the Aborigines there. In view of this, I was commissioned to make a year's survey of the remaining tribes of that State. But like the Aborigines, I ignored State boundaries. This project took me in 1930 from Tibooburra and Birdsville in the north east, across to the Musgrave Ranges in the centre, down to Fowler's Bay and Ooldea in the south, and west to Laverton in Western Australia. In the meantime Professor S. D. Porteus of Hawaii, a visiting investigator, had carried out psychological research into the adaptability of the Aborigines amongst the Aranda and also in the Broome district in the north-west ; while Dr. Roheim did research in anthropology-psycho-analysis amongst the western Aranda and their south-western Loritja neighbours.

With this taking possession of the anthropological territory in the south, as complementary to the northern line, we can regard the first phase of organized and planned research in the Aboriginal field as complete.

(2) 1932-38. The second phase overlaps a little with the first. It consisted of R. Piddington at La Grange and in the Broome area (1930-31) ; Phyllis Kaberry at the Forrester River and East Kimberley, and like Piddington following on places selected in my survey and building on the material which I had obtained and analysed ; W. E. H. Stanner at the Daly River and then on the Fitzmaurice and at Port Keats ; Donald Thomson on a Government grant in North-east Arnhem Land ; W. L. Sharp on the Edward River and around the south-east corner of the Gulf of Carpentaria ; and Miss McConnel back along the more northern parts of the western coast of the Cape York Peninsula. In addition Dr. Capell made a linguistic survey of the Kimberlies and the Arnhem Land coast, and the Frobenius Institute expedition concentrated on the social anthropology and art of the north-western coast of Northern Kimberley. For the most part, this second line ran south of the first phase northern front, and also sought to fill in gaps and intensify what had been done. In addition Mr. T. G. H. Strehlow spent several years studying Aranda linguistics and mythology. And, at the same time, research had been started among the mixed-bloods of the eastern coast of the continent, by Radcliffe-Brown in 1929 and myself from 1931.

(3) 1939-47. The third phase included the War years, when work in the north was out of the question. However, R. M. and Catherine Berndt did intensive research at Ooldea in the far south in 1941, building on my own work there in 1930. They also in the ensuing years, as opportunity offered, studied the contact position in South Australia generally, but

particularly in the south-east and in the Oodnadatta district. Then from 1944 to 1947 they did field-work in the Wave Hill district, in the north-west of the Northern Territory, and followed this with research in Northern Arnhem Land,—Goulburn Island, Oenpelli and Yirrkala. They have since paid a return working visit to north-east Arnhem Land. Mr. H. Coate, in 1946-47, surveyed many of the Wandjina galleries of paintings in the Northern Kimberley, obtaining relevant myths in the local languages. In addition, urged on continually by myself, he eventually re-discovered the galleries originally found and described by George Grey in 1838.¹³ During this third period, too, I continued work in south-eastern Queensland and north-eastern New South Wales, while Marie Reay began her researches amongst mixed-bloods in western New South Wales.

(4) 1946—. The third phase brought to an end field research financed by the Australian National Research Council. From 1946 onward, the finance was provided by the Universities, usually from research funds made available by the Commonwealth, or by private sources. In this period I concentrated in almost yearly visits on southern Arnhem Land and at Delissaville, near Darwin. I also had the privilege of taking two research groups into the region to do both physical and social anthropology, and linguistics. Mr. M. J. Meggitt, University of Sydney, "occupied" the Walbiri tribal area, which, north-west of Alice Springs and south of Wave Hill, presented one of the few remaining opportunities to work amongst relatively untouched Aborigines. Mr. A. Pilling, a Fulbright scholar from America agreed to work in Bathurst Island where Mr. (now Professor) Hart had worked in 1928-29, but where difficult problems of social organization remained to be solved. Dr. Stanner, now of the A.N.U., has returned several times to the Port Keats region where he first worked in 1934. Mr. P. M. Worsley, from the Australian National University, carried out research in Groote Eylandt, Arnhem Land, building on the results of a private research worker, Mr. F. Rose; and now, from the same University, Mr. Hyatt is at the new Government Settlement of Maningrida, Liverpool River, central northern coast of Arnhem Land. Professor L. Sharp paid a short return visit to his former field in Cape York Peninsula. The Berndts, stationed at the University of Western Australia, have recently made two visits to the Warburton Range district. And finally, work among mixed-bloods has been prosecuted with some intensity in New South Wales during this post-war period by Misses Reay and Ruth Fink, and by J. H. Bell and Malcolm Calley as well as by two B.A. Honours Students. Miss Fink has also done similar work in the north-west Division in Western Australia. I have not forgotten the almost annual brief expeditions from the University and Museum in Adelaide to the Central regions, but they have been concerned mainly with physical anthropology, and so fall outside the scope of this address.

Summing up, we can say that in each succeeding phase, gaps have been filled in in the main northern and southern sectors and also positions as it were behind the previous lines, occupied. The picture of the field is very different to-day from what it was thirty two years ago, when the planned field-work started. Those of us who were present at the Pan-Pacific Congress of 1923, and then like myself were associated with the working out of the plan from 1927 onwards, cannot fail to pay tribute to the Australian National Research Council, especially its executive committee, for the success which attended their continued

¹³ A. P. Elkin, "Grey's Northern Kimberley Cave Paintings Re-found", *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, (1948), pp. 1-15.

and watchful efforts to ensure the advance of Anthropology in Australia. Geologists, Chemists, Physicists, Biologists, and other specialists, they all regarded Anthropology as almost their chief responsibility, until it became firmly established. I know this, for I was a member of the Executive for about twenty years.

Oceania

These physical and biological scientists appreciated and came to insist on the necessity for publishing results of research. So when Radcliffe Brown proposed in 1930 that a Journal might be published and financed by the Council, the Executive Committee agreed readily. Moreover, when Radcliffe Brown forecast because of financial stringency, its probable cessation at the end of the first volume, which would be in 1931, the Executive did not accept his prediction as final. Its point of view was that to accept funds for research implies a responsibility for the availability of the results, and that therefore some of the research funds should be spent, if necessary, in subsidising publication through the Journal.¹⁴

Oceania is now in its 29th year and volume. There have been difficult times. During the paper scarcity of War time, the then Chairman of the Council and I made personal representations to the authority concerned for permission to use good grade paper. We were supported by the whole Council and were successful. The chief argument was that we were publishing for posterity, not for the ordinary magazine public. Of course, we offered to reduce our type from the luxurious 12 point to ten point and to reduce, as a corollary, the size of *Oceania* and the amount of paper required. We also reduced the number printed from 1000 to 750. Our sales of full sets since the War have justified our efforts.

When the Rockefeller grants ceased, I successfully approached the Carnegie Corporation for a grant for research and publication, and built up a nest-egg for *Oceania*, which enabled me to carry it through the War years, when we lost many subscribers overseas.

When the Australian National Research Council was planning in 1954-5 to give way to the Australian Academy of Science, which was in process of formation, with the consent of the Council's Executive (of which I was Chairman), I suggested to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sydney that the University might become the publisher of *Oceania*, providing some secretarial and book-keeping help and being the financial backstop. He and the Senate agreed. This was as from September 1955. Grants from the Social Science Research Council of Australia for three years gave us a good start. In addition, I have obtained grants from persons and institutions for the publications of various articles. I thank them for their response and co-operation.

As a matter of interest, the cost last year for *Oceania* publications, which include the Linguistic Monographs and which pay for themselves, was £2020. My receipts were just over £1700. The balance came out of the reserve. These costs, however, do not include secretarial work.

Looking back over the past thirty years, I think one of the highlights of anthropological research in this region has been the contribution of *Oceania*.

¹⁴ A. P. Elkin, "Anthropology in Australia, One Chapter", *Mankind*, Vol. 5, No. 6 (1958), pp. 232-35.

Duty of Publication

Of course, results of Aboriginal research have been, and are, published in other Journals and in books. One Journal would not suffice. Unfortunately, however, a few field-workers, in spite of two or even more periods in the field, and of the moral obligation implied in accepting grants, have published two or three articles and nothing more. In early years, the Research Council reserved the right to claim the field note books and have the material prepared for publication. Needless to say, we did not take such a step, and in any case writing up material from other workers' notes is very difficult. Still, it can be done; Dr. Marie Reay is editing some of the late Miss Wedgwood's Manam material, just as Miss Wedgwood did the same for Bernard Deacon after his death. Occasionally, the reason for lack of publication has been that the field-worker has obtained very little material, or has not mastered what he did get; in others, he is not satisfied with its quality, and hopes to improve it by return visits and to publish later. This is commendable provided that the delay is not very long.

Of course, there is the other extreme; that the field-worker publishes too much and too soon. But in Longfellow's words in *Morituri Salutamus*:

" Yet better the excess
Than the defect; better the more than less ;"

Once made available it can be criticised, drawn upon, and revised. Longfellow's words later on in the same poem cannot be applied to research results:

" Whatever hath been written shall remain,
Nor be erased nor written o'er again ;"

For the opportunity to erase and write again, Let us all be truly thankful, and unashamed.

The Future

With so much done, what is left to be done? It is hard to find places where Aboriginal social and ritual life is still in "complete action." But there are some: With Areyonga as a base, the Pitjindjara with their Aluridja type of social organization and strenuous, frenzied and almost desperate cult rituals, could be studied. The language is reasonably well known, and with this start the worker should be able to penetrate into their thought world.

From Haasts Bluff and Mt. Doreen, the Pintubi and the Bindabu could be studied; they are of interest because twenty years ago they were adopting the section and subsection systems and were in a muddle about them; and of course there is the matter of their adaptation to the desert. There may also be opportunity to work with groups between the Warburtons and Sturt Creek in Western Australia.

Only Caledon—Blue Mud Bay, and the Rose River remain on the Arnhem Land coast, and though the numbers are small, the work would be worthwhile.

In addition, follow-up work is still needed in several places; I have done the basic work in south and central Arnhem Land, but this region provides a good opportunity for the study of Aboriginal philosophy. The Northern Kimberley, Forrest River for example, is another case. Moreover, return studies are very important for showing the rate and nature of change; this surely is a very important, and possibly never-ending research project.

Finally, no research has been done in Borrooloola, except the little by Spencer and Gillen. The natives there have been subject to much contact, but a study of their re-adaptation would be of value.

Theoretical Task

To sum up ; there are still some factual gaps to be filled in, anthropological territory to be "occupied"; and there is the whole problem and process of change and readaptation to be studied. And even more important : we need to collate all that we have gathered during the past three decades, and in earlier days too, and to interpret it. The philosophical task remains ; that is the beacon light beckoning to us. In that interpretation we will no doubt use concepts, abstractions and models, according to the arm-chair fashion of the day ; they will help us. But let us beware lest they become an end in themselves, an interesting intellectual pursuit. For we are concerned with the continuity of, and change in, social and cultural systems, whereby groups of human beings adapt themselves to one another and to the total environment and so survive. I commend to you the words of an eminent philosopher, J. T. Merz, written in 1915 : "The real nature of things as distinguished from that imaginary or abstract picture which we, in scientific research, substitute for it, reveals itself to us only if we look at it as a whole and in its natural and ever varying situation and environment." For, "the history . . . of all the sciences connected with the living creation shows clearly how progress has only been possible by again and again returning to the observation of the world as it is, by stepping out of the laboratory and the dissecting room (and I would add the study), into the open air, forgetting for the time at least the abstract methods, the images and models, the selected and prepared specimens of the scientific student." Models and abstractions are nothing new. Let them be our temporary instruments, not our goals.¹⁵

A. P. ELKIN.

New Guinea : Social Anthropology.

Hannemann.

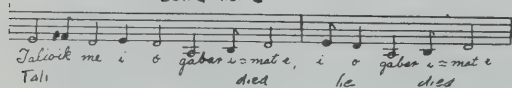
Games and Modes of Entertainment in the Past Among the People of the Madang District.
By E. F. Hannemann, *Galatia, Kansas, U.S.A.*

In New Guinea, games and dramatizations are bits of culture which deserve preserving. The fact, however, is that, through inadvertence, most of these things have sunk into oblivion. But it is not too late to save at least part of this Papuan heritage. Hereunder is a cross-section of various games and small dramas from the Madang District. Papuan dramatizations have not fossilized in a few traditional presentations and are not only remembered by a few septuagenarians. On the contrary, drama-games were thought suitable to be added to the repertoire as occasion arose. Factual and ludicrous happenings and events, also phenomena of nature of various kinds were given recognition and presented to beguile the time and to entertain. This the Papuans might well continue to do. For educational as well as recreational purposes, this source can be drawn upon in the schools, especially since Papuans like dramatics. In olden days a wordless skit was sometimes prepared to put people in their place. Frequently this proved more effective than many words

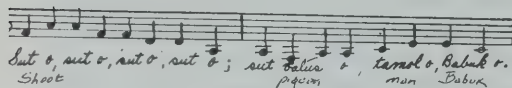
¹⁵ J. T. Merz, *Religion and Science, A Philosophical Essay*, 1915, p. 103.

SINGING GAMES FROM MADANG.

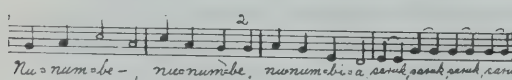
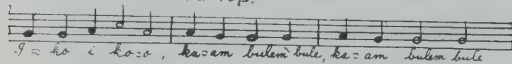
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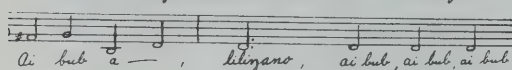
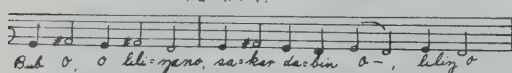
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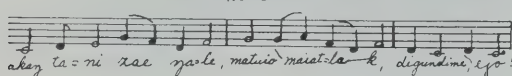
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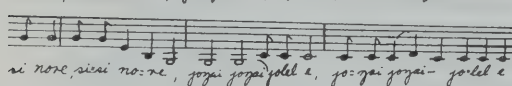
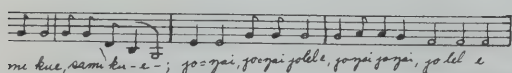
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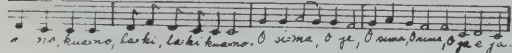
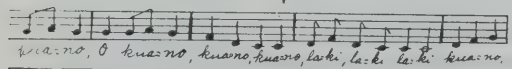
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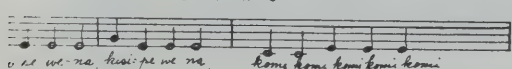
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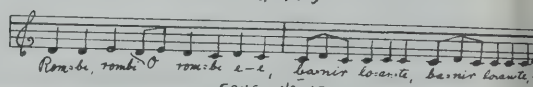
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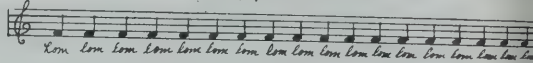
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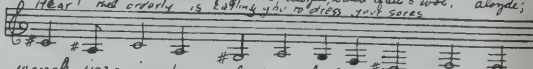
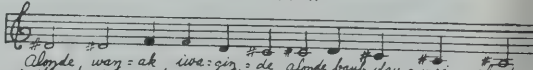
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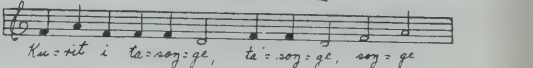
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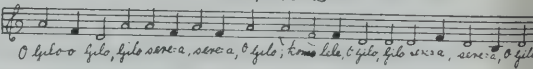
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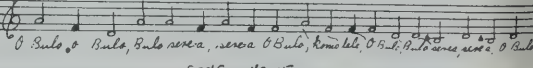
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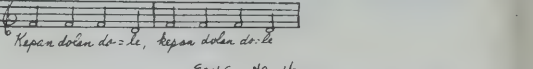
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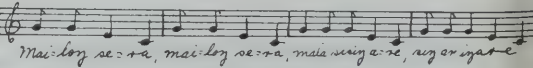
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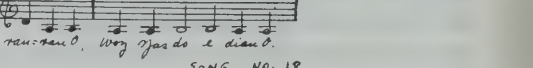
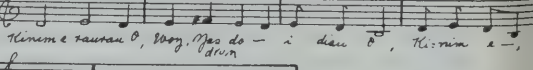
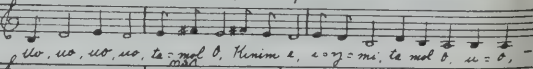
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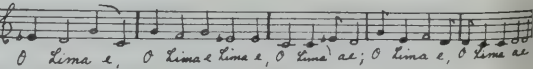
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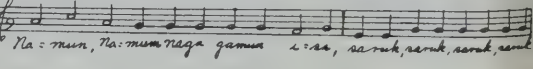
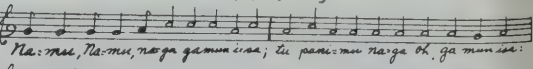
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SONG No. 19



Unfortunately the meaning of many of the keywords in the ditties has been lost. In some instances this indicates diffusion across language barriers. Where the meaning is known in the text of the songs, the keywords are translated.

FOOD-GETTING GAMES

1. *The Tali Nut Game*

Children, girls as well as boys, take hold of hands and go around in a circle. Singing the ditty below (Song No. 1) they swing their hands back and forth. A boy with a stick is in the centre of the circle. While the players walk around in a circle swinging their arms and singing, the boy with the stick in the centre strikes the ground from time to time. When the other players hear the noise they simulate the sound of falling nuts by stamping the ground with their feet, *dududu*. They play that the boy in the ring is knocking the nuts off the tree.

The singing of the ditty and the striking of the ground is repeated until the players tire of the game.

2. *A Bird-Shooting Game*

When the village boys are together they may say, "Let us play the bird-shooting game." They form two lines and call the names of two boys to be the hunters. One of the boys takes a stick and handles it like a gun. But bow and arrow may also be used. The mate of the boy with the gun helps look for birds to shoot. The two together go through droll movements, making the onlookers roll with laughter. It is good entertainment.

While the entertainment is proceeding the two lines of boys (girls may join too) sing the ditty written below (Song No. 2). Obviously this game originated, or at least was added to, after the Europeans arrived.

3. *A Pig Breaks the Fence*

The pig and fence game is played like this. A ring of boys hold hands and form a fence. One of the players is picked to imitate a pig inside the fence. All goes well for a short while, the players in the circle sing the first tune given below (Song No. 3). Then suddenly the pig breaks the fence and is off to freedom in the bush. But the players run after it, and triumphantly bring it back tied to a pole and decorated. Also the troupe have decorated themselves. Returning they sing the second tune given below (Song No. 3). Back home they choose an apt actor to cut up the meat and distribute it. A rich knowledge of dissecting skill and social tradition may be brought into play in this part of the game. If they feel like it, they may sing the first tune once more while this is going on.

4. *The Bubbub Fish Game*

In the *bubbub* game a group of boys get down on their hands and knees and form a line. The open space between their arms and thighs is the rock cavern in the sea in which the *bub* fish spends much of its time. A boy plays the role of the *bub* in this cavern of arms and legs. The fisherman comes and begins feeling around inside for a *bub* fish. But the *bub* will not be caught so easily. It keeps on drawing away from the opening of the cavern. So the fisherman has to remove part of the rock. He does that by striking one rock against

another. He calls a fellow-fisherman and together they take hold of the arms and legs of the boy on the front end of the line, and in a supine position swing him against the second boy, thus battering down the barrier. Rocks break both in the hands of the fishermen and at the mouth of the cavern, and one boy after another has to serve as a battering-ram. Finally the far end of the sea-cave is reached and the *bub* is caught.

Naturally the boys manning the battering-ram are the principal singers of the tune below (Song No. 4), which is sung while the work of fishing proceeds.

5. *Flying-Fox Shooting Game*

Here is a game for small children. About a dozen girls and boys go to a convenient place and imitate flying-foxes. Like these bats they hang from the branches of a tree by their arms and keep on screeching, *ηukya, ηukya, ηukya*. Meanwhile hunters have been attracted by the noise and are coming to add at least one apiece to their day's provision. While the hunters shoot with their bows and arrows (latter of soft material) only a few of the flying-foxes are hit. The others drop off their branches and run away. They stretch out their arms and act as though they are flying.

6. *A Fishing Game*

A long line of boys hold hands and form a three-quarter circle. They represent a fishnet. Swaying back and forth, they simulate the movements of the sea. A row of eight or ten boys face the opening of the circle or net in a prone position, lifting themselves off the ground by their hands and toes at frequent intervals. These are the fish which three men behind them are trying to drive into the net by striking the water with sticks from their canoes. Meanwhile the netboys and drivers are singing the song below (Song No. 5), meaning: "Throw your net, pull it in, *matui* fish in the ebbtide are standing off." Upon the word *Matuio* the fish throw up their legs by the palms of their hands and their toes, jump and notice that there are human beings behind them. Quickly then the fish try to get away. Most of them, however, are caught in the net. The singing is repeated to the end of the game.

COMPETITIVE GAMES

1. *Coconut Shell Relay Game*

When young people wish to play this game they provide themselves with half a coconut shell. Then they form a circle and squat. Each player holds his shell in his right hand in an inverted position. When the leader begins singing the first section of the jingle below (Song No. 6), the players strike the ground with their coconut shell in front of them, first on the left and then on the right, joining the leader in singing. They repeat the strain about six times.

But now when the leader stops and begins singing the second section of the jingle, the shells have to move on to the neighbour on the right. It is now "right-right-right," each time grasping another shell and putting it down in front of the player on the right. For this perfect teamwork is required. If in this part some of the players are slow or get out of rhythm, the shells pile up in front of them.

This game is an excellent means of testing and developing the reflexes of pupils in school.

2. *Top-Throwing Game*

Two groups of boys take part in the top-throwing game. As many boys as play in the game, five to ten or more on each side, so many midribs or central veins of the coconut leaf are stuck in the ground in front of the players on both sides. First one side throws its tops at the midribs of the other side, and then the other side has its turn. The side which knocks down the greatest number of midribs on the opposite side is the winner. The tops are made from the lower end of a small coconut.

A similar game has been brought to the Madang District from New Britain many years ago. However, in that game, top is thrown against top. In *Gedaged* the game is called the 'Coconut Shell-top Cracking Game.' It may well be that in strong hands the tops sometimes cracked in the past.

3. *The Boxing Game*

Boys range themselves in two rows about ten feet apart. Two boys are picked to stand in the opening between the rows. When ready, they sing the ditty below (Song No. 7) and shuffle their arms and legs to the tune, also the two boys in the centre do likewise. Presently the two advance toward each other with clenched fists and box. After the first encounter they drop back and come together again after a half minute or so. This can go on to the third and fourth encounter. All is done in step with the tune. The Karakar 'sages' apparently have forgotten the meaning of *kuano* and *laki*.

4. *The Hopping Game*

In the hopping game called *sokansokan* at Jabob near Madang the children first specify the goal of the hop. It may be a distance of from 200 to 300 feet. The distance may be extended according to the age of those who take part. The players who for lack of endurance have to put their raised leg down before they reach the goal are counted out. Whoever gets to the mark first, hopping without a rest all the way, is cheered.

5. *The Bow and Arrow Game*

For this game small boys and frequently some who are a bit older first have to make some bows and arrows. They like to make arrows out of the midrib of sago-palm leaves and a thin piece of pliant wood will serve as bow. The weapons ready, they sometimes tie a dry coconut on a string and hang it up as a target. The distance of the latter varies.

Sometimes they make themselves a bundle of arrows out of the hard stems of a species of tall grass called *usuas* in *Gedaged*. Then the boys divide up into groups and fight with each other. In former days young boys learned the skill of warfare that way. They learned how to shoot straight, how to evade the enemy's arrows, how to handle the shield and to judge when they were beaten. Needless to say, in olden days the fathers and leaders of the community were very much interested in this kind of play. They frequently went to watch the game and encouraged the players with advice.

The spear game was played in a similar manner. The branches of *gof* (in *Gedaged*), a herbaceous plant, served as spear material. In sham battles these spears were quite harmless. However, several years ago there were still men who could point to scars of their boyhood skirmishes with arrows and spears made of material a bit harder than *gof*.

6. *Hide and Seek*

Two groups of children play the 'hide and seek' game. The children of one of the groups go and hide. They climb trees, hide under houses, behind trees, in thickets near the village, anywhere where they cannot be found easily. When they have all found a good place to hide, one of them says, "Let's call them to look for us." Saying that he calls, "*kububu!*" When those who are there to look for them hear the call they say, "They are calling, let's go and find them."

If they find them all they make a perfect score. But if they do not find one or two of them, they will give up and tell them to come out from their hiding place.

The seekers do not feel good about their failure. But the game is not over. They still have their turn. So they tell each other, "Let us hide so well that some of us too cannot be found."

IMITATIVE GAMES

1. *The Dog and the Wallaby*

The dog has bad habits. It is always chasing the animals of the jungle, always it is biting and eating them. Therefore the animals do not like the dog. They decide to kill it. One day when the dog is sleeping in the village the cassowary and wallaby call all the other animals together to kill the dog. The cuscus, the bandicoot, the monitor lizard, the phalanger, the rat, the mouse and other denizens of the jungle assemble. They throw a cordon around the dog and sing the song below (Song No. 8).

Then while the dog is sleeping the cassowary and wallaby go into the circle near the dog. The cassowary says to the wallaby, "Friend, let me get at him with my great toenail." The wallaby answers, "Wait, friend, let me at him with the spear on my foot." Already the wallaby steps on the dog, but his foot slips and he merely scratches his ear. That moment the dog awakes and catches and mauls the wallaby. Now the cassowary and all the small animals flee to the jungle. Some climb back on their trees, some go down into their holes, and others return to their hollow trees.

This game, if played well by the chief actors, the cassowary, the wallaby and the dog, calls forth much laughter. The cassowary is really the main actor. In larger and larger circles he runs around the wallaby with the dog on top of him, and finally also disappears in the woods.

A good actor brings out the characteristic traits of the cassowary.

2. *The Bee Game*

Bees are found in different places in wooded areas. If anyone goes and stirs them up they will come and sting him. In this game about ten boys form a line and imitate bees. The one on the front of the line holds a branch. The bees sing this song (Song No. 9).

Then as many boys as there are on the sideline dare the bees by running past them and touching them (the branch which the player in front holds up). The bees let them pass. But when the last boy comes along to molest them, the bees leave their nest in a swarm and follow him and all the rest, who have remained nearby, hitting and pinching them as they catch up with them. All depends on the fastest runners. The game may be repeated several times, the bees and molesters changing roles.

3. *A Mime Game*

For this game a buffoon is required. To begin, a man or boy puts a string on his head. Then he sits down and picks someone to mimic. For an unsuspecting person this can become embarrassing, while for someone who is acquainted with the game and has initiative, it can result in good comedy. If the person whom the mimicker picks says something, the mimicker says the same thing. If he gets up, the mimicker gets up too; if he grimaces, the mimicker does the same. A good mimicker sees every expression of the face and movement of any part of the body. Naturally he exaggerates them to a degree.

4. *Crossing a Stream in Flood*

Two rows of boys sit on the ground facing each other with legs intertwined. By shuffling their legs quite vigorously and chanting "Lom, lom, lom," they represent a stream in flood.

A man and his wife and their two dogs are in the village. The man takes the two dogs and goes hunting. Two of the smaller players are given the role of dogs and walk on all fours. One dog has the name Saikom and the other is Berebere. They cross the stream on the way out, but when they return it is in flood and difficult to cross. But the man is going to try. He calls his dogs, "Come Saikom, come Berebere." They have to cross the shuffling legs. Since there are many rocks and the current is swift, the dogs are afraid to follow their master across the swirling stream. He keeps on calling them, but they answer with a howl and go back again. There is only one thing the hunter can do, return and carry them across. The water is so turbulent that he can barely remain on his feet carrying one. But he comes back for the other one. He calls without avail. The dog must have followed him into the water and perished. He looks carefully at the swirls and eddies near the big rocks, and there, clinging to one of the stones (under the legs of some of the boys simulating the flooded stream) he finds his lost dog dead.

The man feels very bad about this. "Hoh!" he says, "my dog," and tears come into his eyes. Then he carries the dead dog home. When the wife sees the dead dog she gets angry. She says to her husband, "Why did you take my dog out hunting with you? This is not your dog, it is my dog." She picks up a piece of wood and wants to strike her husband. But he jumps out of the way and tries to strike her. One of the players impersonates the woman, unless there is a girl present who will take the part.

5. *The Sick People's Game*

It happened this way in former days. Medical orderlies went out to the villages to gather up the sick folk and those with bad sores. They brought them to the dispensary and hospital. Not only those in need of medical care went with the orderlies, but fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers and other closely related people accompanied them. Many small children were taken along too. Good acting brings out the nondescript nature of the crowd. Some of the patients were carried, some hobbled along on sticks, while others were assisted by a relative or two.

There is a fair bit of crying of children and wailing and moaning of adults when the orderlies begin treating them.

In a drama like this, a piece of actual everyday life of the past is presented for the amusement of all. It goes back to the time when some of the Papuans at or near the coast

still had to be sought out and cajoled to go and receive medical care. While the presentation is made, the ditty below is sung (Song No. 11).

6. *The Cuttlefish Game*

This is a game for young children between five and seven. They form a circle and squat. Singing the jingle below (Song No. 12) they hop to the centre of the circle. There they turn around and hop back to where they started, turn toward the centre and repeat the procedure as long as the legs endure hopping in a squatting position. The singing continues as long as the game lasts. The purpose of the originator of this game must have been to emphasise a certain trait of the squid-like sea creature. Meanwhile the *raison d'être* has been lost.

MISCELLANEOUS GAMES

1. *Sabarigo*

The children, the more the merrier, squat in a circle. In that position they take hold of their ankles and sing the following tune. They sway their bodies from side to side while they sing (Song No. 13).

From their ankles they raise their hands to their knees, then to their hips, their shoulders, their ears and last to their heads. For each position the jingle is sung once.

The first part of the game over, the children rise, raise their hands and clap them together above their heads. For this they hop around sideways in a circle (usually to the right) and sing the second strain of the jingle (Song No. 14). When they first raise their hands to clap them together they shout *Kaik!* What all these words mean is not known. The game comes from Malalamai, Rai Coast.

2. *Kepandolandole*

Children play the *kepandolandole* game like this. Thirty or more can take part. They stand in line. While they sing *kepandolandole*, repeated *ad infinitum*, (Song No. 15) the boy or girl on the front end of the line hops out (with both legs) about 30 feet, comes back and steps lightly on the foot of the one next to him in line. Then they both hop out the same distance together, but the one who started stays there and starts a new line. The other hopper returns and lightly touches the foot of the third in line with whom he hops out together. The number two remains and number three hops back to conduct number four and so on, until all the players have been brought over. They close the game by chanting "O irayea o!" *Iray* could be a reference to a demigod northwest of Mugil.

3. *The Shell-Guessing Game.*

On a moonlight night the children of the village may say, "Let us play the shelling game." They sit in a circle on the ground with their legs in front of them. One of the players is inside the circle to guess who has the shelling. When the game starts the players rub the palms of their hands back and forth on their thighs. Amidst this movement of many hands the shelling makes its round. Surreptitiously it moves from hand to hand. The guesser usually watches the expressions on the faces, fast movements or fumbling. During the game the jingle added below is sung (Song No. 16).

4. *Last Tag*

This could be a European game. But the nomenclature connected with the game seems to indicate that it grew in New Guinea soil. The name of the game is *bizbiz* or 'sparks.' To start the game someone, boy or girl, touches another and says, "O bizdayan!" (you have the spark on you, you are it!) and runs away. The one with the *biz* tries to get rid of it as quickly as possible. Good runners score. If anyone gets short of breath he may drop out. The game stops when all the players need a rest.

5. *The Dawn Game*

Four boys act the part of roosters and sit where roosters usually spend the night. Another group of boys sleep in the centre of the playground and imitate sleep in the men's house. Five boys stand around getting ready to hide (in their various sleeping places). While these boys are milling around the boys who are trying to sleep tell them, "Stop it, let's sleep! What are you milling around for? There is room here, come and sleep. Don't you know it is getting late?"

When the boys who are walking around aimlessly hear this, they say, "We can't sleep, we are not sleepy."

Now the boys who are lying down fall fast asleep. But those who are awake keep on saying, "We are here, we are here, we are here." After that they go to separate places to hide and sleep. Soon after they have left the roosters crow their round. They crow like this: "*Putputput kokolalaio hoh!*" The roosters crow the round four times. After the first crowing they sleep a while. But after that they crow again. Then they sleep once more. At the third crowing the boys who slept in the centre of the playground get up and look for their mates. While they look for them they keep on calling, "*Kuli, kuli, kuli, kuli* (where, where?)? When they find one of the boys they say, "*Sasapuli*," which means, "Here he is."

The boy whom they find arises and calls to the others, "*Mer ualu, al ualu, sawi ualu, uletek e*, the meaning being "maniok shoots, yam shoots, a plant-like-taro shoots have fallen down and disappeared (the place where they have been shows it no more). In other words, "They have made a good job of hiding."

Then they will go and look for them some more. If they fail to find the one or the other, they say, "*Ig djilahigemen gor djonie* (you have won, come and show yourself). The players are now ready to close the game. If they wish to play it once more they reverse the parts. The game originated at Bernal in the Begesin region.

SEA AND RIVER GAMES

1. *The Coconut Game*

When the boys and girls go swimming in the sea, they make use of a strong limb of a tree, which extends over the sea at an angle of 30 to 35 degrees. With its help they can play the 'coconut game.' The players flex their legs and hold them close to their body with their arms. With flexed body and head bent down between the knees they are coconuts falling off the trees. Throwing themselves down into the water like that makes a noise like a falling nut. Up the sturdy dry limb they run, flex up quickly and roll down, one after the other, until their energy is spent.

2. *The Fire Game*

After the children have played the 'coconut game,' they may say, "Come, let us play the 'fire game'." In a row they will walk up the overhanging limb of a tree and jump into the sea or a deep pool of water. Doing that they will call to each other, "Don't let the fire die, keep the flames shooting upward." The foamy splashes of sea water are the flames. The players must dive so fast one after another that the splashes are continuous. Otherwise the fire does not burn well and the game is not what it ought to be. After this game too they have to catch their breath.

3. *The Porpoise Game*

After the previous two games the children may wish to play another water game. It is likely that they will say, "Let's play the 'porpoise game.'" Immediately some of the stronger boys will jump into the water and others will follow them and squat on their backs like young porpoises. Those acting as the old porpoises go down as deep as they can with the young ones on their back. When they reach the bottom of the sea or pool, they throw them off. Diving they chant the jingle: *Maoi o ya egin suniþ taniþe* (O porpoise, you arch your back and throw off your young as I do).

As those who play the part of the old porpoises come to the surface, they say, "The porpoise lifted up its young one, arched its back and threw it off."

4. *The Naru River Game*

Writes one of the Bogadjim boys: "Not far from our village there is a large river called Naru. We often go swimming in the Naru. We look for a place where the water is quite deep and clear. There we bathe. After we are through bathing we often play a water game. We look for a small white stone. Then someone will take the stone to the bottom of the pool and hide it. When he comes up he says, "Boys, go down and look for the stone." Then one of the boys will answer, "I will go down." The rest will say, "Go down, if you can't find the stone come and tell us."

He will go down and look for the stone. But after a little while he may come back and say, "I did not find it." Then someone else will try. If he does not find it—one cannot stay in the water very long—there will still be others who will say, "I will go and try to find the white stone." If now one of the boys makes a desperate effort to find the stone and really does find it, he will come out of the water and show it to the others. But he will also scold the boy who took the stone down to the bottom of the pool. He will say, "Why did you hide the stone in the sand, that our eyes pained looking for it." "This water game we at Baged are still playing today."

Mulau and Pidempidem

The *mulau* and *pidempidem* jingles and chants serve to celebrate the activities of people, their habits and customs, the sky and the sun, the moon, the stars, animals, birds and fish, wind, seasons, in short, everything which strikes people's fancy in the realm of nature, animate or inanimate. In most of these play-celebrations the players hold hands and skip, hop or lope and dance around in a circle. In each formation a person, bird, animal or thing in nature is characterized and/or extolled. It may be a bright star in the Pleiades constellation

which appears June 13th or 14th, or it may be a fresh mound of a megapode in the woods. Many dances of the adults have similar themes. Hence the *mulau* and *pidempidem* complex may be considered to be a connecting link between children's games and some of the adults' dances. However, in the past adolescents did not consider themselves too grown up to stage these games for the whole village on a moonlit night. As a rule, a few drama-games such as *bubbub*, *lom lom* and *paziu* or 'monitor lizard' game were played toward the close of the evening's entertainment.

Examples of entertainment material such as is given above would appear to be worth following up and building upon in the schools and villages. As indicated in the introduction, Papuans also in the past have never limited themselves to presentations of the ancient past, but have revealed quick perception in seeing new material of dramatic value from time to time up to the time when the whites arrived and after. These interests and skills may well be cultivated.

To round out this cross-section of Papuan games allow me to add a few examples from mythical, magical and spiritual sources.

Kinim the Cannibal

In this game the legend of Kinim, the cannibal, on Bagabag Island is dramatized. The old cannibal had been decimating the population for a long time until the people finally decided to go to another island. However, an elderly woman without male relatives to take her part is told that the canoes are filled to capacity, and that she will have to remain. She tries to make the best of her lonely life. She finds a cave near the beach in which she can hide from Kinim. To help her over her loneliness she gives birth to male twins. She calls them Won and Ijas. From childhood up she trains them to be warriors with a view to getting rid of Kinim through them. When Won and Ijas are sufficiently mature they take their two dogs, Denjaur and Damor, and go to look for Kinim.

In the game the boys stand up in two rows and hold hands. They sing the war ditty below (Song No. 17) and swing their hands up and down. After they have sung a short while they stop and choose five boys of the group, two of them to impersonate Won and Ijas, two to imitate the two dogs and one to take the role of Kinim.

The boys in the lines resume singing when the presentation begins. Won and Ijas sneak up on Kinim but their spears miss the mark. Immediately Kinim is on his feet and amidst loud shouts chases them away. Pleased with himself he comes back and continues with his work of carving wooden food bowls. Won and Ijas try a second time, but again they miss the target. Again Kinim chases them and when he returns he talks to himself, "My name is Kinim, I am still alive." But no sooner has he said that than the two dogs engage his attention. That is the moment when Won and Ijas can come closer unobserved and finish the fight.

They carry the corpse back to their mother. There they disembowel the body and use the thorax as a drum and the arm-bones as beaters to call their people back to Bagabag from the neighbouring island. The people hear the drum signal and return.

Cat's Cradle

This was a mode of entertainment with magical power to give the growth of yams a boost. After the yam seedlings have been planted in their mounds of loose earth, they soon

begin to grow up and down. When the vines appear above ground, sticks for them to grow up on, are stuck in the mound. Formerly, at this period of the yam's growth, and some people may be doing it today, the parents in parts of the Madang District encouraged their children to busy themselves with 'Cat's Cradle.' This pastime is practiced with a loop of string with which by two hands and sometimes by four, a second person participating, a variety of designs is created. Among them are things such as the yam, a drum, a netbag, parts of the human body such as the chin, clouds, the moon and stars. The intertwining nature of the patterns is looked upon as good sympathetic magic to cause the peduncle of the plant underground to splay out well and give rise to a large cluster of big tubers.

As far inland as Dumpu village in the Ramu Valley 'cat's cradle' was demonstrated to the writer by some of the villagers: the sun, moon, new moon, men crossing a river with sticks, a woman cutting bamboo and handing the pieces to her child, red earth, women's breasts, a dog and a few more. Needless to say, in many instances one has to have a modernistic conception of art to recognize the purported representations.

The Weather Man

In this performance the players form a line, one behind the other, clasping each others abdomen with both hands. The leader on the front end of the line pulls the line in all directions. He tries to find out from which direction the wind is blowing. Land winds are sometimes a bit difficult to identify, especially early in the morning before a movement of air becomes a breeze. The weather man has his head high, and while he lunges in one direction and another, he blows and spits into the air. As a competent weather man he must be able to determine precisely from which direction the wind will blow in order to inform people who wish to sail by a favorable wind. The line straightens out behind him when the direction of the wind is found.

The appended song is sung by the cortege while the leader analyses the weather. The text is this: "O lima e, O lima e, lima e; O lima a e, O lima e, O lima a e." At Mindiri, Rai Coast, *Lima* is a man's name. Possibly a historic Lima was a noted weather man (Song No. 18).

An Incarnate Spirit

At Nobonob near Madang this game is called *Berebere* after a *sesaiz* or 'nature spirit.' People of one of the Nobonob villages, as related in a myth, found the small child of a *sesaiz* couple in the jungle and took it home with them. But soon the *sesaiz* Berebere and his *sesaiz* wife came to look for their lost child. They knew it was somewhere in the village, because they heard it cry. They looked for it until they found it. The men who tried to keep them from taking the child back Berebere threatened with flourishes of his adze. Also when they followed them on the path outside the village, Berebere chased them back with his adze.

In agreement with Papuan beliefs of the past a drama-game like this has its source in mythological lore. Of necessity the acting must be in accordance with the conceptions of the past (Song No. 19).

E. F. HANNEMANN.

Official Policies Towards the Aborigines of New South Wales. By J. H. Bell, M.A.,
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I. Policy of the British Government, 1788-1855.

In 1788 the policy of the British Government towards the Aborigines of New South Wales was in keeping with its reason for founding the colony in Australia. The aim was to establish a penal settlement to accommodate the overflow from English prisons. The Government had no missionary or civilizing aims with regard to the Aborigines. To prevent interference with the establishment of the colony the Governor was instructed to open friendly intercourse with them and to protect them from the convicts and settlers. While they were to be regarded as British subjects, they were to live apart from the whites, their ways were to be respected and their economy undisturbed. The policy, then, was not to acculturate or assimilate them but to protect and segregate them. Sir Joseph Banks' evidence on the Aborigines at the commission enquiring into the plan to found the settlement at Botany Bay left little doubt about their capabilities. It was generally believed that the Aborigines were incapable of being civilized.

Shortly after the First Fleet arrived the Aborigines, realizing the whites had come to stay, withdrew from contact with them. Their voluntary segregation was so effective that the Governor had to capture several to try to make his friendly intentions known to them. However, as settlement expanded trouble developed between the whites and the Aborigines because of the usurpation of native land and interference with native women. To prevent this the Governors adopted two methods of segregating the Aborigines. One was to send expeditions of a punitive or protective nature to drive them further away from white settlement. The other was to issue Government Proclamations and General Orders to control their contact with whites. These covered numerous subjects such as Aborigines being forbidden to come within certain distances of white settlements, whites being forbidden to encourage them near settlements, to supply them with liquor, or to interfere with their women, and so on.

While the official policy was not to civilize them, Governors Phillip and Macquarie conducted personal experiments to determine if they could be civilized. Phillip had three Aborigines living in his own house, and Macquarie established a native school for which he had great difficulty in obtaining the approval of the Government. The greatest number to attend the school was twenty-three. It was abandoned after Macquarie's recall. Because of his efforts to civilize the Aborigines Macquarie made many enemies among the whites.

In 1825 the official policy towards the Aborigines changed. The Governors were now instructed to civilize and convert them to Christianity. This new policy was a result of that facet of the humanitarian movement of the nineteenth century concerned with the effect colonization was having on the native peoples of the Empire. The policy, however, was largely ignored. The Governors had more pressing commitments and public opinion did not favour the policy. The lack of interest displayed by the Aborigines in white culture confirmed the general opinion that they were incapable of being civilized. The Aborigines were not an inquisitive or acquisitive people as far as white culture was concerned. Governors Phillip, Macquarie and Gipps were disappointed with the lack of interest displayed by the Aborigines in white culture.

The conviction of racial and cultural superiority characterised white relations with the natives throughout this period. The whites believed they were dispossessing a worthless people. Further, attacks by Aborigines on settlers, even if retaliatory, alienated sympathy for them. At a public meeting in Sydney in 1826 "it was declared by men of position that the blackfellow was not a human being, and that there was no more guilt in shooting him than in shooting a native dog".

In 1830 further instructions were issued concerning the civilizing of the Aborigines, and under pressure from England the New South Wales Executive Council paid lip-service to the policy:

"The Council, after a full consideration of the subject, were impressed with a persuasion that the nation is under an obligation to make an effort for the moral and religious improvement of the people whose country we have occupied".

In 1838, under pressure from humanitarian associations set up in England in the "reforming 'thirties", the British Government, being informed of the neglect of the New South Wales Aborigines, appointed five Protectors "to civilize and to protect" them. The Protectors were to turn them into agriculturalists on segregated Reserves. Schools were to be established, "brutish customs" stamped out, and they were to be Christianized. This policy was never implemented. When the size of the proposed Reserves was brought to the notice of the Government by local authorities, it was loath to alienate such huge tracts of Crown land for the purpose. The potential cost of the policy also spelt its doom. Further, public opinion was still very much against such a policy. The colonists believed that the aboriginal problem was a domestic one, and one not appreciated by the Government in England. It was inevitable that the settlers should display hostility towards the natives whose indigenous economic system interfered with the developing white economy based on private ownership of land to be worked for profit. The food-gathering activities of the natives made their way of life incompatible with that of the whites and the plan to create huge Reserves for their exclusive use necessarily aggravated the problem.

As things turned out only one of the Protectors was stationed within what is now New South Wales. This and the factors mentioned above meant that the Protectorate failed to civilize the Aborigines and by 1848 its failure was recognized and it was abolished.

Between 1788 and 1855 missionary activity among the Aborigines was almost non-existent. Because the policy up to 1825 was not to civilize them, enquiries by missionary societies were officially discouraged. Even after 1825 missionary effort was slow to take root. Clergymen were few. It was one of the peculiar features of the colony that little provision was made for the religious instruction of the whites, and as the clergy increased in number with the passing years it was felt that the settlers should come first. Further, many churchmen believed that the Aborigines could not be Christianized. Lack of finance also hindered missionary work. In 1825 the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge among the Aborigines of New South Wales was founded but failed soon after because of the lack of public support. The London Missionary Society which started work among the Aborigines in 1827 also had a short life. These missionary bodies favoured the segregation of the natives which was in keeping with official policy.

Passing reference has been made to public opinion in New South Wales concerning the Aborigines. Between 1788 and 1855 this opinion was against them. Writings of the period

make this clear. As early as 1789 one settler wrote: "The natives, I think, are the most miserable of the human form under Heaven". In 1792 another wrote: "They are a lazy, indolent people, and of no ingenuity". "They are incapable of any improvement or even change", wrote another in 1800. In the press of 1804 they were described as "indolent, vicious, cunning, treacherous, filthy and immodest." In 1810 Reverend Samuel Marsden wrote that they could not be civilized and his opinion influenced the British Government's policy at the time. Bigge, in his 1820 report on the state of the colony, expressed the same opinion. In 1825 when the official policy changed, no similar change took place in public opinion. In 1826 in a popular book of the day they were described as "low creatures" incapable of being civilized. In 1843 one writer stated that they were "not to be looked on as fellow-creatures but as wild beasts." Public opinion was reflected in actions against them. There were mass shootings and poisonings.

2. *New South Wales Government Policy, 1855-1939.*

In 1855 responsible government was granted to New South Wales and with it came responsibility for the Aborigines. The policy adopted towards them was protection and segregation, but to prevent criticism from England some attention was to be paid to civilizing them. The latter remained a neglected aspect. As organizing an effective administration absorbed the Government's attention until the 1860's, the Aborigines were more or less left to the New South Wales Aborigines' Protection Association, a branch of the Aborigines' Protection Association of England. This was a voluntary association whose aims were to protect the Aborigines from "injustice, cruelty and immorality" and to Christianize them. It depended on public subscriptions but the Government had to make small grants to it. The Association sought to establish segregated Reserves in different parts of the State. Only two supervised Reserves, Maloga and Warangesda on the Murray River, were ever established, but other areas were set aside exclusively for Aborigines.

In the 1860's in response to demands for official protection and segregation of the Aborigines by some members of the Legislative Assembly and whites in some growing townships throughout the State, the Government increased the number of Reserves but they were unsupervised. Later all policemen were appointed official protectors charged with protecting Aborigines from ill-treatment by whites, with discouraging them from camping near towns, and encouraging them to settle on Reserves. The police have continued this role up to the present day, and this explains their close association with the Aborigines over the last ninety years. Protection and segregation were taken further with the passing of the Supply of Liquors to Aborigines Prevention Act (1867), under which whites supplying full-blood Aborigines and all castes with intoxicants were liable to prosecution. Further, whites associating with Aborigines were frequently charged with being suspected suppliers and this did much to discourage aboriginal-white contact. Over the next seventy-six years nine other Acts pertaining to the protection and segregation of Aborigines were brought down each further increasing the Government's control over them. In the 1870's an improved ration scheme, administered by the police, was made available to encourage Aborigines onto Reserves, but it became hindered by lack of finance and poor administration.

In the late 1870's the Government had to pursue more vigorous protective and segregative measures. Police reported on the indigent conditions of the Aborigines, on their ill-treatment

by whites, and on the decrease in their numbers. It was estimated that the Aborigines had decreased by almost three-quarters between 1788 and 1880. It was believed that they were passing rapidly towards extinction and in 1880 a Protector of Aborigines was appointed to protect those who remained so they could die out peacefully. This was to be achieved by supervised, segregated Reserves.

The Protector was the first to raise the question of the mixed-blood Aborigines who hitherto had been treated officially as full-bloods. He suggested that they be excluded from the provisions relating to Aborigines and incorporated into white society. This did not meet with official approval and nothing was attempted along these lines.

By 1882 it was apparent that the Protector's office had failed. One man, even with police help, could not implement the Government's policy. Following an enquiry in 1882, the Aborigines' Protection Board was appointed (1883) "to ameliorate the conditions of the blacks and to exercise a general guardianship over them." However, it was given no legislative sanction for its existence or operations. Under instructions from the Colonial Secretary it was to pursue a policy of segregation with which its members concurred:

"We are of the opinion that the establishment of asylums . . . for the Aborigines in many districts would be an advantage by thus providing them with retreats. We desire to draw attention to the experiment which is being made in Victoria to enforce the absorption of half-castes into the general population, and to express our belief that at present such an attempt here would be impracticable." The Protection Board's policy to prevent aboriginal-white contact is stressed in its reports from 1884 to 1939.

To implement the policy ninety Reserves were notified. They were to be self-contained communities in which the Aborigines could live independently of whites. To achieve this they were to be turned into a sedentary people. Further, the economic policy was that industries, similar to those in the surrounding countryside, were to be established on Reserves to provide employment and to eliminate dependency on whites and to make the Reserves economically self-supporting. This policy failed, however, and the Protection Board began to maintain many Aborigines wholly on rations. But this did not last because finance was limited, and eventually lighter caste Aborigines were permitted to work for whites. Contact with whites was limited because the Reserves being well away from white settlement meant that little work, in the main only casual rural work, was available. Further, the Protection Board could terminate this employment if it considered it desirable. Aborigines were discouraged from working in towns.

Reserves were of two types. One type, called Stations, were supervised by resident managers. The second were supervised by the police, resident teacher-matrons, or by resident missionaries. The duties of managers, in addition to general supervision and the maintenance of order, included enforcing segregation by keeping the Aborigines on the Reserves and away from whites, implementing the official economic policy, and educating the children. Managers were assisted by their wives, designated matrons, who supervised the women and children and tended the sick. In segregating the Aborigines they were assisted by the police and local committees of six white citizens, the chairman being the local police sergeant.

Mention of education for aboriginal children brings up the question of acculturation. The policy of the Protection Board was not to assimilate the Aborigines and they were never

subjected to deculturation, a term meaning the forced stripping of a people's culture and the substitution of another by planned indoctrination. By providing a smattering of education for the children, it was not intended to prepare them for life among whites, but for life on the Reserve. Little was achieved by the education scheme.

The Protection Board accepted light caste people as Aborigines only if they were physically distinguishable from whites. Its definition of an Aborigine was biological rather than sociological. However, there were many light caste people physically indistinguishable from whites who had been reared in aboriginal camps, knew no other way of life, and who regarded themselves as Aborigines. At first they were discouraged from settling on Reserves, but rather than living with whites (for which they were not prepared and from whom they encountered resistance), they continued to live in unauthorized aboriginal camps. These camps had long existed but the Protection Board wrongly believed they would disappear with the establishment of supervised Reserves. In an unsuccessful attempt to eliminate the camps, which were defeating the policy of Reserves in that many dark-skinned Aborigines preferred to live in them, very light caste people were allowed on Reserves. Nevertheless, the Protection Board was never happy with the arrangement, and a provision was made in the Aborigines Protection Act (1909) by which, except with permission, only people having an apparent admixture of aboriginal blood could live on Reserves. This provision was rarely enforced.

In implementing the policy of segregation the Protection Board was hindered by its lack of authority to enforce it legally. Apart from the Liquor Act (1867) no laws pertaining to aboriginal-white contact existed. To overcome this, a section on aboriginal segregation was incorporated into the Vagrancy Act (1902), by which it became illegal for whites to live with, wander with or in any way associate with Aborigines except in an official capacity. Those who did could be declared vagrants and dealt with under the provisions of the Act. The Protection Board made the most of these Acts to control aboriginal-white contact, and its early reports list convictions obtained against whites guilty of offences against them. In 1908 control over the Aborigines was further increased by an amendment to the Vagrancy Act incorporated into the Police Offences (Amendment) Act.

In 1909 the most detailed legislation to date concerning the Aborigines, the Aborigines Protection Act, was passed. It legalised the Protection Board and considerably amplified its powers. The Protection Board was "to exercise a general supervision and care over all matters affecting the interests of Aborigines." Among other things the Act was designed to legalise segregation. Under it an Aborigine was defined as "any person apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood." This definition legally excluded those physically indistinguishable from whites as already mentioned, but they were allowed to remain on Reserves. This remained the policy up to 1939. In 1937 a member of the Protection Board stated:

"The Board seeks to take care of the aboriginal people, whether they be full-bloods, half-castes, octoroons or quadroons."

Reserves and their supervision by the Protection Board, its officers, the police, and the local committees, were legalised. The Protection Board was also given authority to control the mobility of the Aborigines, to terminate unauthorized camps, to provide for the custody of neglected aboriginal children, and to "apprentice" them to suitable whites where necessary.

Further, whites were not allowed on Reserves without permission. In regulations made under the Act other steps were taken as required to facilitate segregation.

When the Protection Board took custody of a child it usually placed it with relatives or other Aborigines better equipped to look after it than its parents, or in Homes for neglected aboriginal children maintained by the Protection Board and the United Aboriginal Mission. The Cootamundra Home for aboriginal girls and the Kinchela Home for aboriginal boys were established in 1910 and 1923 respectively, although a Home for neglected aboriginal boys had existed at Singleton before this date. The United Aboriginal Mission Home on the South Coast was established about 1908. The number of aboriginal children committed to these Homes was never large, and was practised only when suitable placements with other Aborigines could not be arranged. At fourteen years of age these neglected children, unless returned to their parents, were apprenticed to suitable whites for four years, girls as domestics and boys as farm labourers. At the termination of their apprenticeships they were returned to their local areas "to marry their own colour and to live as Aborigines." In short, the policy towards neglected children was purely protective not assimilative.

In 1915 and 1918 the Aborigines Protection Amending Act and the Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act respectively were passed. They increased the Protection Board's authority. Its authority over children was increased, and it was given authority to force any person of apparent aboriginal descent to take up residence on a Reserve.

In the 1930's two other Acts providing for greater control of aboriginal affairs were passed. By the Police Regulation (Amendment) Act 1935, the police were given more authority over the Aborigines, and by the Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act 1936, the authority of the Protection Board was increased. It was given authority to deal with the mobility of Aborigines and unauthorized camps.

Between 1855 and 1939 the Aborigines were denied certain citizenship rights and obligations under State and Commonwealth laws. They could not exercise the Federal franchise, were prohibited from obtaining liquor, could not receive old-age, invalid or widows' pensions, or maternity allowances from the State Government which was responsible for social services at the time. They were debarred from receiving family endowment and unemployment relief. Monies received from public authorities were mostly held in trust by the Protection Board and payments were made to them in kind not in cash. Although British citizens they were not of European descent and were ineligible to serve in the armed forces. They were not permitted to attend white schools. Finally, there were the restrictions enumerated in the Aborigines Protection Act.

The 1930's saw much criticism of the protection policy. A. P. Elkin, current Vice-Chairman of the New South Wales Aborigines' Welfare Board, writes :

"The Protection policies were framed in the hope of protecting the Aborigines from abuses and injustices . . . Such policies were negative, because it was felt that the native people were doomed to extinction. They prevailed, however, until the late 1930's. By then the Mandate principle of the League of Nations Covenant had influenced people of good-will. Further, anthropological research in Australia had begun to throw definite light on the problem of contact and depopulation in Australia, and to spread reliable knowledge of the Aborigines and their conditions. It seemed that if a positive policy designed to promote the progress of the Aborigines were framed and implemented, they need not die out, but

might well play an important part as citizens of Australia. This view was expressed increasingly, and before the 1930's had gone by, every Government concerned with Aborigines (States and Commonwealth) modified its policies and administration."

As a result a conference of aboriginal authorities (both Commonwealth and States) was held at Canberra in 1937. It was resolved that :

" 1. The destiny of the natives of aboriginal origin, but not the full-blood, lies in their ultimate absorption by the people of the Commonwealth, and . . . all efforts should be directed to that end.

2. Efforts of all State authorities should be directed towards the education of children of mixed aboriginal blood at white standards, and their subsequent employment under the same conditions as whites with a view to their taking their place in the white community on an equal footing with the whites."

Further, the Select Parliamentary Committee on the Aborigines of New South Wales 1937-38, and the Public Service Board of New South Wales 1940, criticised the official policy and recommended

" a policy which would result in the gradual assimilation of Aborigines into the general and social life of the general community."

3. *Government Policy from 1940 to Present.*

The outcome was that in 1940 the New South Wales Government changed its policy towards the Aborigines to assimilation and welfare. The Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act 1940, and the Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act 1943, amended the Aborigines Protection Act 1909-36, to bring it into line with the new policy. Regulations made under the Act, and Instructions to managers of Reserves and the police were also amended. The Protection Board was replaced by the Aborigines' Welfare Board and a Superintendent of Aboriginal Welfare was appointed. Decisions were made to appoint male and female inspectors, to improve the qualifications of managers of Reserves and to appoint field welfare officers.

The Welfare Board sees the aboriginal problem as follows :

" Assimilation of the Aborigine into the general community is the keynote of the Board's policy. When it is considered that 95 per cent. of the so-called Aborigines of New South Wales are half and lighter castes, whose former social fabric has been torn asunder by the onrush of Western civilization, and who if left alone would have neither the traditional background of the aboriginal way of life nor the culture of the white man to stabilize and guide them, the need for this policy should be abundantly clear. The policy has a positive aim, mainly to make the Aborigines responsible, active, intelligent citizens. The Aborigines' Welfare Board realises the difficulties arising from a different mode of thinking, content of knowledge and emphasis on different values and ideals. It realises the Aborigines inherit a different view of life, and that the value of our culture must be proved to them before it will be accepted."

Thus, the Welfare Board aims at acculturating and assimilating the Aborigines on the grounds that the majority have an admixture of white blood and that little of the traditional culture remains.

But the Welfare Board realises that "many Aborigines are not yet fitted to be assimilated into the general community", and that assimilation must be the ultimate goal. In the meantime, supervised, segregated Reserves have been retained as training centres to prepare them

"for the responsibility of citizenship with regard to health, diet, education, housekeeping, working habits, and recreation."

The aim has been to improve conditions on Reserves by replacing huts and shacks with houses, and providing bathrooms, laundries and sanitation.

The policy has been to deal with assimilation on the individual rather than on the group level. It was expected that some individuals and families would be ready for assimilation before others, and there has been much individual welfare activity. Families have been encouraged to leave Reserves by being helped to set themselves up in their new life (e.g. by building houses for them on a rent-purchase plan).

Under the Aborigines Protection Act 1909-43, the Welfare Board has control over "all persons apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood", but in practice it has ignored this limitation and accepts as Aborigines people of very light caste many of whom are physically indistinguishable from whites, but who regard themselves as Aborigines. The actual degree of aboriginal blood is not important. A. P. Elkin writes:

"The Board provides a place of abode on its Reserves for any person of any degree of aboriginal descent."

The definition of Aborigine used by the Welfare Board, then, is sociological rather than biological. It is appreciated, however, that very light caste Aborigines have an advantage over darker ones as far as assimilation is concerned. But (says a Welfare Board Report)

"although it is the Board's hope and ultimate intention that all light caste families shall be persuaded to live in the general community and be independent of Government support and protection, it is not intended to remove any such families from their established homes on Reserves."

It is realised that although removed from Reserves they would continue to live as Aborigines in unauthorized camps.

The denial of citizenship rights to the Aborigines, which is contrary to the assimilation policy, has been attacked by the Welfare Board which wants them to have the same rights and obligations as whites. In this it has been partly successful and the State Government now only prohibits them from obtaining liquor. Of course, certain restrictions can still be imposed under the Aborigines Protection Act (e.g. the Welfare Board may apply for a court order compelling an Aborigine to take up residence on a Reserve if it considers it warranted). These restrictions are retained because they are considered to be in the best interests of the majority of Aborigines. It is important to indicate, however, that it is not the policy to work within the rigid framework of the Act and its Regulations. The Welfare Board has wide discretionary powers, and the Act is frequently ignored to allow for individual welfare activity. However, the Act is important when legal sanction is necessary. Through representations to the Federal Government concerning rights denied Aborigines under Federal legislation, they now have the Federal franchise and receive maternity allowances and child endowment. However, they are still denied all pensions and unemployment relief

if on managed Reserves. The Federal Government took over social service payments from the State in 1942. While aiming to extend all social service payments to them the Welfare Board believes some are incapable of spending the money wisely and holds it in trust and issues them with orders for goods on stores. Others are allowed cash if its spending is properly supervised by the manager of a Reserve or the police. Such cases are reviewed periodically and restrictions lifted where possible. The Aborigines are still ineligible for service in the armed forces.

Although the policy is to assimilate the Aborigines, the Welfare Board is also aboriginal protector, and is empowered to restrict relations with whites. For example, no whites (unless with permission) may enter a Reserve; whites may be convicted of consorting with Aborigines if their explanations are not satisfactory; and the Welfare Board may prohibit an Aborigine working for whites if he is

“not receiving fair and proper treatment, and is not being paid a reasonable wage, or the Board is of the opinion that his moral or physical well-being is likely to be impaired by continuance in such employment.”

Apart from these restrictions Aborigines are for all other purposes citizens of the State and share the same rights and obligations as whites. They have State, Federal and local government franchise, receive the protection of the law and are liable to penalties under it, are eligible for taxation, receive free compulsory education, and so on.

Restrictions still existing may be overcome to some extent by issuing exemption certificates made legal under the Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act 1943. The Welfare Board may issue certificates to applicants whom it considers capable of having full citizenship rights, thereby freeing them from the provisions of the Act and control by the Welfare Board. The Federal Government recognises these exemption certificates and grants the holders all social service benefits on the understanding that they do not live on managed Reserves.

In theory exemption certificates are issued only if the applicants are on “the verge of assimilation” in that

“they are of good behaviour and have no recorded convictions, are in constant employment, and have satisfactory living standards and domestic relationships.”

Certificates may be cancelled if in the Welfare Board's opinion the holders should once again be subject to control. In practice, however, the legal purposes of the certificates has been neglected because they have become the only means by which Aborigines may obtain full social service benefits from the Federal Government.

Table I shows that in a random sample of 200 applicants for exemption in the State as a whole between 1944 and 1958, 97 or 48·5 per cent. were 60 years of age and over and 103 or 51·5 per cent. were between 15 and 59 years. Of the applications 75·0 per cent. were granted (some of these had been previously deferred), 11·4 per cent. deferred, and 13·6 per cent. declined. Of the applicants 60 years of age and over, 87·5 per cent. were granted exemptions and 12·5 per cent. were declined. Of those under 60 years, 67·8 per cent. were granted, 17·8 per cent. were deferred, and 14·4 per cent. were declined. This reflects the Welfare Board's more lenient attitude to applicants approaching old age pension age, than to younger people, many of whom only apply to obtain liquor. Applications from younger Aborigines to obtain invalid and widows' pensions are also dealt with leniently.

More males apply for exemption than females because wives are covered by the same exemption as their husbands. Children of exempt parents are also exempt.

Education has an important place in the Welfare Board's policy for both social and economic reasons. The Protection Board did so little to educate the Aborigines that it has been "necessary to approach the problem of education and training as a new problem." The aim is (as a Welfare Board Report records):

"to prepare the aboriginal people for citizenship, and every endeavour is to be made to educate them . . . so that they will be able eventually to adjust themselves to the white man's way of life."

The policy includes educating children and training adults. With regard the former the Welfare Board aimed to separate the roles of manager and teacher, to have the State Department of Education accept responsibility for aboriginal education, and to have Aborigines admitted to white schools. These aims were not fully achieved until the 1950's. The

TABLE I.
Examination of 200 Applications for Exemption Certificates for State.

Sex		Age		Decision of Welfare Board			Decision of Welfare Board in Association with Age					
M.	F.	Under 60	60 and over	G r a n t e d	D e f e r r e d	D e c l i n e d	Under 60			60 and over		
							G r a n t e d	D e f e r r e d	D e c l i n e d	G r a n t e d	D e f e r r e d	D e c l i n e d
88·6	11·4	51·5	48·5	75·0	11·4	13·6	67·8	17·8	14·4	87·5	—	12·5
100·0		100·0		100·0			100·0			100·0		

Department of Education has now full control of aboriginal education and provides fully qualified teachers, schools and equipment. It is necessary that exclusively aboriginal schools exist on isolated Reserves, but Aborigines attend white schools if Reserves are near towns. Those attending white schools use the same syllabus as white children, but that for exclusively aboriginal schools is modified.

The Welfare Board still has authority to invoke the Child Welfare Act to control neglected aboriginal children and can place them with foster parents or in Homes for the purpose. Neglected children may still be apprenticed to whites for rural and domestic work.

The Welfare Board regards economic assimilation of the Aborigines as preliminary to social assimilation and improving their economic status is stressed in the policy. The aim is to eliminate their pauper conditions and their dependence on Government bounty supplemented by a little casual work by encouraging them to work, to seek employment among whites, and to become economically self-supporting.

In implementing the policy of assimilation the Welfare Board has had to contend with several hindering factors. One is the legacy of almost 170 years of protection and segregation policies designed to achieve the very opposite of the new policy. Another two are the war which lasted until 1945 and the shortage of finance and suitable personnel for staff during the war and post-war years. Because of this field welfare officers were not appointed until 1948, eight years after the decision to appoint them, the improvement of living conditions and amenities on Reserves has proceeded very slowly, the rent-purchase housing scheme to encourage those ready for assimilation off Reserves did not begin until 1948 and has proceeded very slowly, it has not been possible to eliminate unauthorized camps because of the cost involved in providing increased accommodation on Reserves, and because of the salaries offered, it has not been possible to obtain managers with the necessary qualifications. A third and important factor is prejudice towards Aborigines on the part of whites.

J. H. BELL.

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OBITUARY.

REGINALD LINDSAY BLACK, 1886-1959.

Following a severe heart attack some weeks previously, Lindsay Black died at his home in Leeton, N.S.W., on Tuesday, July 10, 1959, at the age of 73. He spent his boyhood in Melbourne, and then, after spending a few years jackerooing on pastoral stations in Victoria and western New South Wales, became manager of Mossiel and later Canally stations. He then became a farmer on the irrigation settlement at Leeton, where he established a well known Lincoln sheep stud. After joining the staff of the Irrigation Commission, he finally became a stock and station agent in Leeton, a business which is now carried on by his son Langdon.

His innumerable activities in the social and civic life of Leeton and district are too numerous to deal with here. He worked hard to foster the idea of beautiful gardens and parks, was president of the local Rugby League football club and of several bowling clubs and the district association, and was an official and active worker in many other organisations and movements that were important in the development of the district. He had a real love for the bush and its animals and plants, and was a member of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia, the Field Naturalists Club of Victoria, this Society, and Chairman of the Riverina section of the Royal Australasian Ornithologists Union. In his later years he became an enthusiastic collector of shells.

In anthropology, Black devoted himself to making an intensive study of the archæology of the Darling River valley and central New South Wales—country that he knew well. He spent many years collecting stone implements, photographing and recording carved trees, graves, stone arrangements, rock paintings and engravings, and the fine collection of implements that he amassed was sold to the National Museum of Victoria. He wrote five booklets on these subjects in a series dealing with the customs of the Aborigines of this region and published them at his own expense. They form a most valuable contribution to Australian archæology. There are many other areas of Australia in which similar studies could be made, following Black's splendid example, by non-professional members of the various anthropological societies.

Lindsay Black was an amusing and pleasant companion, a loyal and generous friend, a born student and collector, and his passing is a great loss to the causes to which he devoted himself.

F. D. MCCARTHY.

REVIEWS :

Among the Savages of the South Seas. Memoirs of Micronesia 1862-1868. By Alfred Tetens. Translated from the German by Florence Mann Spoehr. Foreword by Alexander Spoehr. Oxford University Press, London. 1958. Pp. i-xxxvi, 1-107, 13 ills., maps. 40s. Aust.

This account of Captain Tetens' adventures in Micronesia makes entertaining reading in its own right ; but its value is considerably enhanced by the translator's introduction and relevant notes which set it in perspective. As Dr. Spoehr points out in his Foreword (p. v), "Tetens was an active participant in the events which fashioned the 19th Century history

of the Pacific Islands and Far East." He was, after all, in that area for commercial reasons ; and while he presents a humorous picture (pp. 73-4) of the visit to Hong Kong of ten Yap men whom he took there "in the interest of future extended trade relations" (p. 72), the implications of this type of contact are not necessarily a matter for laughter.

On the one hand, then, we have here a personal document which gives a first hand glimpse of this region at a time when comparable documents, the stuff of which recorded history is made, were not only scarce but much less rich in local detail. Here is the not-so-distant past of these islands, as seen through the eyes of one man. On the other hand, it offers an absorbing glimpse of a 'first step' in social and cultural (as contrasted with geographical) exploration.

Tetens was interested in the people he met, and not so shocked by their unfamiliar ways that he forgot to be curious about them. (Cf. his response, on page 24, to the bleeding human head suddenly thrust in front of his face.) On his own ingenuous showing, he got on particularly well with what he sometimes calls 'the ladies'—even to the extent of being admitted, on Palau, to their secret gatherings. Nevertheless, he was inevitably handicapped by the conventional views of his time, and by his own lack of training. In this respect he closely resembles F. W. Christian, who followed him in that region thirty years later, in spite of Christian's interest in philology and acquaintance with "that useful little book, *Anthropological Notes and Queries*." (Christian, by the way, while making no reference to Tetens, tells of meeting a successor of his from the Hamburg firm of Godeffroy Bros., engaged, as Tetens himself often was, in collecting specimens for its museum.) The ethnographic descriptions provided by both these men, observant and conscientious as they were, stand in marked contrast to those which have been forthcoming in recent years from students of Micronesia, United States anthropologists in particular. In that respect alone, apart from its historical interest, this volume (like others of its kind, both past and present) documents what can legitimately be termed one 'stage' in the fascinating study of the ways of mankind.

CATHERINE H. BERNDT.

The Tiwi: Their Art, Myth and Ceremony. By Charles P. Mountford, *Phoenix House, London*, 1958. 63 plates, 16 figures and 185 pages. 65s.

It is a remarkable fact that we know very little about the Aboriginal people of Melville and Bathurst Islands. The Tiwi, as they are called, have virtually developed a culture of their own closely related, of course, to that of the mainland people but having many features of a distinctive character which the book under review has recorded for the first time. As the title indicates, its principal subject is the art of the Tiwi and its place in their ritual and religious life.

Much of the material contained in the book was gathered by the author in 1954 when he led a scientific expedition to the islands under the auspices of the National Geographic Society and with the assistance of Mr. John Bonython of Adelaide. There is no question of Mr. Mountford's skill with the camera. He is probably the finest photographer of native peoples in the world and this book undoubtedly enhances his already high reputation as an ethno-photographer. It also demonstrates his wide knowledge of native myth and ceremony and his uncanny ability to relate what he has recorded photographically to the life and culture of his subjects.

Even though the author warns us that this study of Australian Aboriginal art must be considered only as a preliminary study, the reviewer very much doubts whether there is time for any more detailed examination and recording of the nature and meaning of Tiwi art. The book in question will, I feel, remain the definitive record and as such must be considered as an essential part of the library of anyone interested in the subject.

Of course, it goes almost without saying that the work is an excellent example of art publishing and, although the price is high, the standard of reproduction is unsurpassed. It is a good book beautifully printed.

F. L. S. BELL.

The Sculpture of Africa. By Eliot Elisofon, with text by William Fagg, preface by Ralph Linton, and design by Bernard Quint. Thames & Hudson, London, 1958. 256 pp., 405 photographs. Price 70/- (Sterling).

More and more books on primitive art are now being published. Some illustrate the art of one culture or of one country, others are world embracing in their scope. They have demonstrated emphatically the great value of recording first-hand interpretations from natives about the meaning, function and other data about art, because artists and other people who read about primitive art today like it to be cited in its cultural context as far as possible, not as a series of isolated objects separated from their functional and mythological background. These books serve an important purpose. Many museums and most private collectors are unable to secure more than a few examples of primitive art from all over the world, and books as beautifully designed and illustrated as this one enable those interested to do everything but handle the specimens. They are of tremendous value to the student of primitive art because they bring the art to him even though the collections are often far away from his place of residence.

This book describes the plastic art of Negro Africa under 57 tribes and cultures, there being 7 in the Sudan, 22 in the Guinea, and 28 in the Congo sections. The whole range of African sculpture in a vital and graphic style that must command the attention of everybody interested in art.

The introduction by Ralph Linton, late Sterling Professor of Anthropology at Yale University, is an essay on primitive art. In it he discounts the use of the word primitive on the grounds that no culture extant today can be regarded as primitive, none of them being ancestral to our civilizations, and each one has its own evolutionary history. Thus the art styles are the result of long development and are not in any sense primitive. Taken further to the artist, he says, nothing could be more fallacious than to regard him as a retarded individual to be compared in skill with a child, rather is he an adult, often exceedingly intelligent, possessing laboriously acquired skills, extensive technical knowledge, and clearly defined æsthetic standards. His work is not a simple æsthetic expression, it conforms to rigidly controlled conventions, traditional in every culture. For convenience, however, Linton uses the term primitive throughout his essay. Other points discussed by him are the art of children and the insane, the standards and psychological motives of artists in both primitive and civilized cultures, the importance of the professional artist in primitive society, the role of magic, and the restrictions placed upon an artist by the organisation of his society.

William Fagg, Deputy Keeper, Department of Ethnography, British Museum, a leading authority on African art, has contributed the four other chapters of text to this volume.

The first one is an essay on African sculpture as a whole. The geographical distribution of sculpture is centred about the two great river systems of the Niger and Congo. Sculpture in Africa is the product of settled agriculturalists, and is almost totally absent among the hunters and pastoralists. It is, too, characteristic of the great rain-forest region but sculpturing extends into the savannah and sub-desert conditions of the north. Racial factors, innate capacities of ethnic groups, and materials fail to explain the distribution of this art, the origin and development of which present an insoluble problem at the moment, one to which archæology alone may contribute the answer. Wood carving with the metal adze is the principal technique employed by the sculptors in wood, who are men, and the techniques are similar to those they use in working ivory and stone. The pottery sculptures, however, are made by the women as pottery is a female craft, and the Ife figures are an outstanding example of this technique. Metal casting is another highly skilled technique in west Africa. In the discussion of the nature and basis of the art Fagg is of the opinion that its fundamental quality is dynamism, while its chief purpose is the doctrine of force which unites in a single system the whole three concepts of the worship of the gods and spirits, the cult of the ancestors, and the direct harnessing of energy through charms and fetishes.

In each of the three sections dealing with the western Sudan, Guinea coast and Congo, historical and cultural summaries and a detailed comparison of local art styles, are given. The views of earlier writers are critically discussed in regard to meanings, origins and diffusions, antiquity and development of art styles, and there is a long discussion of the famous Ife and Benin products and on bronze casting generally.

The photography by Eliot Elisofon, Research Fellow in Primitive Art at Harvard University, is very fine indeed, and it is employed to explain the art as clearly, attractively and instructively as this medium permits. Many of the specimens figured are shown from the front, back and side, while important features are enlarged. There are in all 405 photographs, and the collection illustrated is not only the most comprehensive series yet portrayed, but is one that reflects great credit upon those responsible for its selection.

This is a book that all interested in art will enjoy and treasure, and the publishers are to be congratulated upon doing such an excellent job.

F. D. MCCARTHY.

The Archæological Ceramics of Yucatan. By G. W. Brainerd. *Anthropological Records, University of California, No. 19, 1958.* 378 pp., 3 pls., 109 figs., 24 maps, 24 charts. 8 dollars (cloth), 6 dollars (paper).

The importance of pottery and sherds in American archæology and reconstructions of culture is well demonstrated in this splendid study of Yucatan ceramics. Thousands of specimens, whole or in part, were excavated by the author, or examined in collections from other excavations. They are grouped in a chronological outline of Yucatan-Formative, Regional, Florescent, Mexican and Post-Conquest stages. In the introduction are given a review of earlier work, and a summary of the chronology. This is followed by a detailed description of the sites and pottery of each of the stages, and then by a chronological analysis and a trial formulation of the technical development and features of Yucatan ceramics. The final chapter is a review of Yucatan culture history. The pottery dealt with dates from 1500 B.C. or earlier, but, as the material is from areas showing masonry of Maya religious

centres the author points out that there must have been cruder pottery made by pre-agriculturists succeeded by settlements characterized by the beginning of agriculture and by more primitive ceramics than those found in his own excavations. The cultural implications and contacts, and probable development of each stage of culture period, are discussed in detail. The report is illustrated with a very large series of beautifully drawn plates, maps and charts, and with several plates of modern pottery workers. It is an excellent example of the exacting archæological method employed in American investigations of Central and South American archæology.

F. D. MCCARTHY.

People of the World : Australian Aborigine. By R. M. Trudinger, *Oxford University Press, Melbourne*, 1958. 31 pp. 3/9.

This booklet, intended principally for school children, is a simply written and reasonably accurate account of the life of the Aborigines of central Australia. It is an excellent publication for the purpose and should be in every school library. Both the text and splendid illustrations are based upon Sir W. Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen's classical works on central Australian Aborigines, but unfortunately no acknowledgement is made to this effect. Although India is cited as the country of origin of the Aborigines generally, south-east Asia is probably just as likely to have been the place.

Errors that should be recorded, as they occur commonly in books of this kind, are that tribes in Australia differ in physical appearance from one another (an impression given by variation in cicatrice patterns, coiffures and ornaments) ; they only build huts in wet weather (they build them for prolonged camping in an area well supplied with food, and as a protection against heat and mosquitoes) ; they have no possessions which they cannot carry (grindstones are left at campsites, sacred boards and stones are hidden in secret and sacred places) ; the central Australian Aborigines are fairer than other tribes (blondness occurs among children but not among the adults of this region) ; the tribe of Eagle totem (p. 9) and his family had a curlew (p. 28) as its ancestor (in central Australia each member of a family usually has a different totem, and each clan has only one totem) ; that initiation begins at 18 but it begins actually at a much earlier age. Tribe is used wrongly in place of horde or local group, and an aboriginal name for the father of the family would have been preferable to Eagle Totem.

F. D. MCCARTHY.

Races and Cultures of India. By D. N. Majumdar, *Asia Publishing House, Bombay*. 1958, 3rd edition (first edition 1944). Pp. i-xx, 1-465 ; map, sketches, charts, tables. Price Rs. 22.50.

It is not easy, as Professor Majumdar acknowledges (cf. p. vi), to combine in one volume an introduction to a many-faceted subject such as Anthropology, a reasonably systematic ethnographic account of a given population, and recommendations designed for politicians, administrators, or social reformers. The end result may well be a mixture which falls short on all three counts.

The author speaks consistently of "lower" and "advanced" societies and cultures (even, on p. 339, of "Lower psychology"), and uses the terms "savage" and "semi-savage." In his view (p. 233), the "vocabulary of a people generally expresses the cultural stage of the society. A poor vocabulary results from low culture, in which terms of relationship

also must be limited . . .” This is in keeping with his broad statements about “primitive man”; e.g., p. III, “competition is not much evident in primitive society.” Chapter 20, on “Primitive Religion,” is a reflection in miniature of the greater part of the volume, in that it draws on ethnographic detail principally for illustration and example in the course of a more generalized discussion. And although Professor Majumdar rightly deplores the influence of “raciological literature” in social affairs, his own statements could be used to affirm the ‘rightness’ of the traditional *status quo*: e.g. (p. 54), “the order of social precedence may be said to correspond with the degree of racial purity or hybridization,” the criteria for which rest not merely on observable characteristics but also on what could be called the concealed characteristic of (p. 50) “serological incidence.”

The attempt to provide a general coverage outside the Indian field is marked by a number of casualties. Apart from being inclined to follow Ruggles Gates in taking the Australian Aborigines as surviving specimens of Neanderthal man (p. 36), Professor Majumdar observes (pp. 163-4) that they “practise a kind of group marriage, in which all the women of one clan are considered to be *Nupa* or prospective wives of all the men belonging to another clan,” and “in which there is no exclusive right of any man on any woman.” He also notes uncritically (p. 240) that Aboriginal women are the most “miserable and degraded specimens of humanity” to be found anywhere, “treated with savage brutality,” and “pictured as completely devoid of sentiment, desire or emotion.”

Should there be a fourth edition, the following points may be worth noting. (a) The tables of anthropometric and blood group data on pp. 66, 67, 78, 84, 90 and 92 would be more useful if they indicated the numbers involved. (b) The list of tribes on p. 134 and table showing “Economic Status of Tribes” on p. 141, which do not correspond as they stand, could with benefit have been combined into one table, arranged to conform with the sketches on pp. 57-61 and the textual material associated with them, and with relevant material elsewhere in the volume; e.g., the “Malpharia of Northern Bengal and Bihar,” p. 47, and the “Panikka” of the U.P., p. 313, appear in neither the list nor the table. (c) The “sketches illustrating racial types” (pp. 57-62) are of less value than they might be. On the one hand it would be helpful to know the basis of selection (i.e., do they represent actual persons, or composite constructs?). On the other, there is no systematic attention to comparability; each head is shown in only one position, some in full face, others in semi-profile, or full profile. (d) Although the Bibliography is “illustrative but not exhaustive,” and while reference to place of publication or press may perhaps be dispensed with, it is essential to include dates. (e) In trying to set out the views of a number of writers, Professor Majumdar does not always make his own position explicit. Also, the reason for inverted commas around a number of statements is not obvious: if quotations, they are not annotated even as regards author (See, e.g., pp. 113, top of 115, 129, 187, 188, 273, 274, 365.) (f) Many citations are documented inadequately or not at all. To take just one page (281), several writers are referred to with no indication of source (and with E. D. Chapple’s name given as ‘Chappel’); and on p. 428, Nadel’s article on ‘Social Symbiosis’¹ is said to have appeared in *Man* (no further details), whereas in the Bibliography, on p. 454, it is attributed to the *J.R.A.I.* (again without further details). (g) The subject index is selective, in respect of both headings and pagination—e.g. in regard to tribal names. The Oraons are noted only

¹ S. F. Nadel, 1938. “Social Symbiosis and Tribal Organization,” *Man*, Vol. XXXVIII, 85, pp. 85-90.

under the single heading of "Oraon dormitory"; there is no separate main heading for "Dormitory," as a more general term than "Gotul" (and the "Gotul" heading does not list e.g. pp. 122, 259, 261).

Detailed material on the physical anthropology of India, and ethnographic accounts of actual situations (e.g. the interesting outline of caste and tribal relations in a U.P. village, pp. 312-322, and the Chapter on Khasa economy), represent the core of the volume; and it is these, rather than the more discursive general discussion, which are most likely to appeal to non-Indian readers. Both are fields in which Professor Majumdar has established his well-merited reputation throughout the English-speaking world; and it is to be hoped that more rigorous editing and pruning will enable future editions of this volume to reach the high standard which his readers have every right to expect of him.

CATHERINE H. BERNDT.

Music of New Guinea: An Introduction. *Archive Series, No. 2.* 12" L.P. *Wattle Recordings.* £2/17/6.

Wattle Recordings have hitherto been associated with the preservation of Australian folk songs and bush ballads, and the authenticity of the music and the technical excellence of their discs have aroused enthusiasm among collectors of Australiana. The Company has now ventured into more exotic fields—the music of New Guinea natives—and the results are in many respects first class. This record includes 73 examples from 14 localities in the Trust Territory of New Guinea, ranging from Vanimo on the Dutch border to Tasman Island in the Solomons. There are, unfortunately, no examples from Papua.

The quality of the reproduction is so good that it is hard to believe the music was first collected on tapes under field conditions. The jews-harp playing from the Central Highlands, for instance, is superb, possessing all the resonance and drive of a string-bass solo in a jazz band.

But there are too many examples and most are too short. I cannot believe that anyone other than a comparative musicologist would really want to hear the hum of a Kainantu spinning top, the drone of the papuanga, a Tolai child's toy, or the frenetic squeaks of the Kavieng launut, a block of wood rubbed by hand. Yet these odd noises have been squeezed on to a disc that, in terms of playing time, is already lengthy. As a result, other musical items are so truncated and crowded together that the listener has difficulty in making the mental adjustments necessary to cope with abrupt shifts from, say, a Nakanai canoe song to a Tolai xylophone solo. This is a great pity, for some of the songs are fine music by any standards—especially the Aitape and Umboi Island death chants and the Talasea pig-killing song—and the performers display great virtuosity. Most people, I am sure, would want to hear much more of this sort of music.

A useful pamphlet that identifies the samples is provided with the record, and there is a clear map and additional information on the cover. The writer, however, should have indicated the extent of mission influence on native music in some areas. The second Tasman Island song, for instance, is sheer Gregorian, complete with alleluias and hodies. Some of the Kavieng music is also markedly acculturated.

Despite these specific criticisms, I strongly recommend the record to ethnologists, musicologists, nostalgic New Guinea expatriates and all laymen who wish to obtain a general idea of the nature of New Guinea music. It is an excellent production.

M. J. MEGGITT.

TWO LOVE MAGIC OBJECTS FROM LAVERTON, WESTERN AUSTRALIA



A and B—both sides of first object.

C and D—both sides of second object.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS :

**Two Love Magic Objects from Laverton,
Western Australia.**

Sir,

This brief note will draw attention to two previously unrecorded objects used in love magic, obtained from a Ngalia-speaking man at Laverton during a survey of this region in 1957. They represent the blades of an aeroplane propeller. Such objects, called by the ordinary term *jilbindji*, are said to be made as the occasion demands.

When a man takes out the first of these into the bush, or uses it in the secrecy of his camp, he threads string through the two holes (as shown in Plate 1, A and B), knots the ends, and using both hands twirls the string so that the object resembles a spinning propeller. No singing is associated with the rite, but the name of the desired female is repeated, the action of the propeller 'heating her belly' and ensuring a favourable response. A and B show the two sides of this object, with incised patterns indicating various sites connected with both the man and the woman; B—sites, clouds and the twirling propeller.

C and D show both sides of the second object, with the holes not yet made. C: waterholes and other sites; note the incised circles at centre ready for drilling. D: figure of female holding her belly, feeling the heat caused by the rotating propeller; a magic spear pierces her heart; the concentric circle between her feet is the impression she has left on the ground when urinating; on the blade above her head are designs representing storm clouds.

These objects are said to have come into Laverton from the 'sophisticated' areas around Wiluna and beyond (Jigalong and further north). They represent an adaptation or variant of the small bullroarers

widely used in love magic throughout this whole region. In fact the appearance of an 'alien' object is not unusual in this context, whether it be used as a love charm (for instance, the small pearl-shell stockmen's boots from the Wave Hill area, Northern Territory) or merely noted in a song.¹ More traditional means of magically attracting a partner of the opposite sex have been discussed by my wife and myself for the Ooldea region.² What we said there appears to hold good, with slight variations, for much of the Great Victoria Desert, including Laverton and the Warburton Ranges.³ The innovation noted here has been incorporated into this setting.

Essentially, and briefly, on the one hand love magic in Aboriginal Australia enhances the whole situation of love-making, serves as an erotic stimulus, heightens and emphasizes both the physical and emotional pleasures associated with such activity, and has a certain æsthetic appeal. On the other hand, the 'bolstering up' of the performer of such magic, reducing his doubts and fears, is a significant factor. In love-making a man may be reasonably sure of himself; but with awareness of magical aid he is, we may assume, doubly sure.

RONALD M. BERNDT.

University of Western Australia,
Nedlands,
September, 1959.

¹ See C. H. Berndt, *Women's Changing Ceremonies in Northern Australia*, L'Homme, Paris, 1950, p. 37.

² R. and C. Berndt, "A Preliminary Report of Field Work in the Ooldea Region, Western South Australia," *Oceania*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1943, pp. 135-49; Vol. XIV, No. 4, 1944, pp. 352-57 (or *Bound Oceania Reprint*, Sydney 1945).

³ Allowing, of course, for often quite drastic loss of much of this as a result of European contact.

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